RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS

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RECOLLECTIONS & REFLECTIONS

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EARL OF CROMER WHEN LEAVING EGYPT

RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS

by COLES PASHA, C.M.G.
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DEDICATED TO

FELLOW-WORKERS IN EGYPT

AND INDIA.

PREFACE

It does not fall to the lot of many men to put in a record of upwards of forty years' service in the East. Still fewer can boast of the many advantages that I enjoyed of serving the greater part of my official life under chiefs like the late Lord Cromer, Lord Kitchener, Sir Eldon Gorst, and other Empire-builders. This must be my excuse for venturing to publish my *Recollections and Reflections*, a privilege usually reserved for men of some eminence.

As stated elsewhere in these pages, I have all my life been a great believer in writing annual reports—annual stocktakings, as I have termed them—both on account of the assistance which they afford to the official who may be recording the result of his labours, as well as for the information which they convey to his successors in office.

These memoirs may be regarded as the stocktaking of my life's work, and although—unlike the official recorder—I personally cannot expect to reap any benefit therefrom, still I feel convinced that in the near future many of the problems which I have helped to solve will again have to be dealt with. For the close of the Great War will most assuredly see British officials administering the less civilised States with, and possibly without, the "self-determination" of their respective inhabitants.

To these British Administrators, as also to fellow-workers in India and Egypt, I trust that my "Reflections" may prove both useful and instructive. I hope, too, that the general reader may discover something of interest in my "Recollections," even if he has to wade through much ancient history to find it.

C. E. C.

October 1st, 1918.

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CHAPTER I.

KHANDESH, 1873–1876.

IT was in the autumn of 1872 that I left Southampton in the P. and O. steamer "Pekin" to take up a police appointment which had been promised me in the Bombay Presidency by Sir Philip Woodhouse, who was then the Governor.

In those good old days police appointments were still in the gift of the Governor, and although I was not acquainted with His Excellency, I had been of some small assistance to his sister in the matter of a savage Newfoundland dog, hence the offer and my life in the East. I wonder how many other young fellows in the world have been assisted to a career in life by a dog?

The first three years of my service in the police were spent in Khandesh—Bombay—under the late Major Oliver Probyn, who was Superintendent of Police and Commandant of the Bheel Corps, a quasi-military force especially enrolled to keep order amongst the Bheels who inhabited the Satpuras and the Western Division of Khandesh.

No young fellow who has been brought up in an atmosphere of sport, as I had been, could have had a more ideal start in life than those three years with Major Probyn and his Bheels. When still a young man, Major Probyn had the misfortune to have a gun burst in his hand. This left him with three fingers of his left hand and a short stump below the elbow of his right. For most men this would have been rather a severe handicap. Not so for the Major, who was the best tiger-shot I have ever met, and very hard to beat with small game. Further, he used to train and ride all his own racehorses during the "rains," and I have seen him riding a finish on the Poona racecourse, quite as well as many professional jockeys, and certainly better than most of the gentlemen riders of his day.

His flow of language on parade was sometimes rather startling, but so sympathetic was he in all his dealings with men and officers that they would do anything in the world for him, and animals,

too, seemed to be similarly influenced. Horses, of course, recognised their master, but one of our two elephants (a regular brute) had moods when no one could approach him except his own Mahout and the Major. The elephants also were certainly steadier and more staunch tiger shooting when they heard the Major's voice in the howdah. They seemed to realise that they were comparatively safe from being mauled!

Cricket was another of the Major's accomplishments. At certain seasons, we all had to parade for cricket, whether we liked it or not, and, by dint of a certain amount of promotion and bad language for the slackers, the Bheel Eleven was by no means to be despised.

I think I am correct in stating that Major Probyn's Bheels were the pioneers of cricket amongst the natives of India. Our great stand-by was a swift underhand bowler who could maintain an excellent length with a break from the leg for hours, and there was always a wine-glass of whisky at critical periods of a match, which seldom failed to bring about the fall of a wicket the next over. The Major always maintained that the men played for the love of the game, and was consequently rather disconcerted one day in the orderly room, when one of our best bats complained that he had played cricket for two years and was still awaiting his promotion!

I fear, too, that a man's capability as a shikari was not altogether ignored when N.C.O.'s were being selected. I have recollections of one very sporting Magistrate for whom shikaris were always provided as his guard whilst in camp. A Bheel shikari is nearly always addicted to drink more than is good for him, and my friend the Magistrate had rather a shock one day when he was moving camp, to find the gang of prisoners he was about to try bringing in their guard, all drunk, in a bullock cart! What is more, the Magistrate never reported the case for fear of being deprived of his shikaris! I am quite sure, though, that the prisoners who were so considerate of their guard did not suffer when their case came up for judgment.

I suppose that civilisation has now penetrated to the wilds of Khandesh and the Panch Mahals, the home of the Bheels, but in the seventies, one never met a Bheel who had not his bow and half a dozen arrows ready for any emergency; very effective weapons they were too. I remember on one occasion, a watchman protecting his crops putting two arrows into a thief who was

helping himself. I paced the distance after and found the first arrow got home at thirty yards and the second at sixty, a running shot, too. Not bad!

If Major Oliver Probyn was an exceptional police officer, I am sure there never will be another collector like "Rajah" Propert, who ruled in Khandesh the three years I spent there. I certainly have never met anyone in my long career with the love of hospitality so strongly developed as "the Rajah" had. When I knew him he was unmarried, and spent the whole of his salary and a good deal more besides in entertaining his friends and subordinates. In the rains in Dhulia his house was the general meet for lawn tennis every afternoon, and if by chance you gave it a "miss," your reasons in writing were called for the next morning!

But to see the Rajah really at his best was at Christmas, when we all assembled as his guests at a special camp in one of the Eastern districts. It was an ideal spot for a Christmas shoot, on the banks of a river with a heavy jungle on one side, providing cheetal, sambur and generally a couple of tigers; on the other bank plenty of quail and snipe.

The shooting was always specially preserved for this Christmas week, and with the help of the Bheel shikaris and young buffaloes, as an attraction a couple of tigers were generally a part of the Christmas bag.

One feature of the day's sport was that it usually commenced with a shot at cheetal having their early morning drink on the other side of the river. For the first morning or two there used to be a regular fusillade from pyjama-clad figures who had been disturbed from their morning slumbers by the servants' "Cheetal hi Sahib." Very sleepy some of us were too, as it was generally after midnight when we were allowed to retire from the after-dinner sing-song and drinks! Personally I was a very uncertain shot so early in the morning, but on one occasion I remember winning quite a nice sum in the shape of long odds that I could not kill a wild jungle cat which appeared on the bank, after the cheetal had disappeared. It was over 200 yards, so my friend was quite justified in laying the odds.

"Rajah" Propert was a great ladies' man; he never married whilst in India, but succumbed to the fair sex, I believe, eventually, after he retired, marrying a lady (so I heard) who nursed him through a long illness. He died many years ago.

Alas, too, are gone many others of my own contemporaries of

those Khandesh days. What good fellows they all were. One hears a good deal against the Competition "Wallah" as a sportsman and a man, so I suppose it must have been the Khandesh habits that developed the characters of the young civilians I was thrown with; they were hard ones to beat at any form of sport. One man, Ommaney, I specially remember, who, though perhaps not the most finished horseman, was certainly the hardest and pluckiest rider of us all. On one occasion I was returning with him from pig-sticking when, rather than go round a couple of miles, he declared his intention of swimming his pony across a river in flood. I decided that it was not good enough to follow, and anxiously watched Ommaney as he and his pony were swept down the river. Eventually both got across, but some way down and not together! However, he was dry and having drink when I got back later!

Talking of pig-sticking reminds me of another incident which I am sure helped me out of a scrape I got into a year or two later. In those days the police were under Commissioners who were also responsible for revenue supervision. Our particular Commissioner, Mr. Lionel Ashburner, was a first-class example of the older type of civilian, and though well past middle age was as keen after pig as ever. On one occasion he and I were racing a pig when, riding a faster horse, he tried to cut in between me and the boar. Unfortunately I caught the hind-quarters of his horse and sent him flying. My feelings may be imagined when I went back to his assistance and, instead of being cursed, was met with the remark, "Fancy stopping to pick anyone up when there was no one to stop you killing such a fine boar!" But it was by no means as easy to make my peace with his little wife that evening, and I got a good talking to for the enormity of my offence—the youngest police officer daring to ride off a Commissioner! However, Lionel Ashburner from that date remained a true friend to me, and I had to thank him for more than one kind action when later he was made a Member of Council.

It was not long after this that I found myself on the officiating roster, which meant for me acting in turn for short periods for the District Superintendents on leave, and I eventually was promoted to a district of my own without once returning to Khandesh or ever serving again with the comrades with whom I had been so intimate.

CHAPTER II.

AHMEDNAGAR, 1877.

I DO not know whether this system of young officers officiating for others for a short period is followed throughout India, but unquestionably no better method of teaching the younger generation could be devised. Take my own case as an example. I served in no less than seven districts before I settled down, and thus had an opportunity (by studying the files) of picking the brains of my predecessors, to say nothing of seeing for myself the result of their administration. If I had failed to benefit thereby, I should have had only myself to blame.

Ahmednagar was my first charge, and it was the year of the famine, so the work was strenuous compared with sport in Khandesh. The late Sir Richard Temple had been sent from Bengal to wake up (so report said) the Bombay authorities, and he certainly was the man for the job, going round and seeing for himself what was being done. The Dhond and Munmar railway was started as a relief work, and it found employment for all who were capable of work. In addition we had several camps for those too feeble, largely run by the police. In due course we were inspected by the great man, and I remember Dr. Waters, who was medical officer attached to Government House, warning me that I might expect trouble the following day if "Dicky" did not find everything to his liking.

But thanks to a very capable police staff and energetic secretary of the local municipality, we were blessed instead of cursed, and I got all the kudos, so much so that the following day, after escorting the Governor through the town on horseback, I received a command to accompany His Excellency in his carriage for the remainder of the journey, and lunched at Dhond on his special train—a great honour, I was told later. I am afraid I did not look on it in that light, as I had to answer all sorts of conundrums in the intervals of His Excellency's slumbers. I have, too, still recollections of a sort of "pijaw" which I got on the doubtful

efficacy of prayer when dealing with famine! It was *à propos* of a correspondence at the time in *The Bombay Gazette*, started by some missionary, that many of our famine troubles would disappear if we only appealed to the Almighty often enough. His Excellency, without being a disbeliever, as he took care to impress on me, was not of that opinion, and I naturally agreed with him!

But prayer or no prayer, I think we were all much happier when the next monsoon brought relief in the shape of a good rainfall, and we were able once more to assist in the usual round of amusement of one of the most popular of stations on the Bombay side, as Ahmednagar certainly was in those days.

The officers of the XVth Native Infantry Regiment, then stationed in Ahmednagar, made me an honorary member of their Mess. Colonel Utterson commanded at the time, and he generally had two or three horses in training for the more important races in Poona and Bombay. Naturally at our local meeting the regiment to a man backed the colonel's horses. I was the owner of a grey Arab I knew to be very good, but he was cursed with a temper, and few cared to ride him, but I nevertheless entered him for the big event. I was too heavy to ride myself, and asked a young fellow in the old 66th to ride for me—result, a frightful exhibition of temper on the racecourse the day before the races, and I had to get another jockey at the last moment. At the lotteries the colonel's horse was a hot favourite, and mine sold for a few rupees only. Luckily for me Elliot, of the 2nd Bombay Cavalry, took a fancy to my horse and offered to ride him. I explained to Elliot all the horse's tricks, and suggested his riding without spurs and kicking him along all the way to the post, which he did. I shall never forget Colonel Utterson's face when my horse romped home an easy winner, and I fear that I was not popular at the Mess that evening! Of course, it was pure luck, my horse happening to be in the mood to gallop, but there was no doubt as to his quality, and he was subsequently bought by the Government for stud purposes, and a few years later I saw some of his progeny taking prizes at horse shows.

I was witness of rather a curious incident at this same Mess. Lord Mark Kerr, who commanded the Division, was asked to dinner after inspection. After dinner, before the wine had hardly circulated, his lordship got up and left, followed by the

colonel and one or two seniors. We all sat down again rather relieved, when presently back comes Lord Mark from the anteroom and said, "I am not a lady, when I leave the table I expect my officers to follow me!" Accordingly we all did, like a lot of naughty boys. He was a regular character, Lord Mark, and used frequently to ride on to a parade ground in mufti, very *négligé* mufti, too, and watch a battalion drilling. On one occasion he paid an unexpected visit to a native infantry regiment, and called on a certain officer to take command of the parade. "Reported himself sick this morning," was the reply. Lord Mark then turned to his A.D.C. and said, "Did not I tell you so? I never can catch him," and rode off.

It was about Lord Mark the story is also told that, on being accosted by the late King (then Prince of Wales) on a racecourse in England, he replied, "I know your face, but cannot put a name to it!"

Weekly pigeon shoots was one of our amusements at Ahmednagar, and I remember, on one occasion, shooting off a tie with a man on which there was a good deal of betting in small sums. My opponent missed, and I grassed my bird with my second barrel. I was congratulating myself on winning the sweep and my friend's money when a large hawk swooped down and carried off my bird! A wrangle then commenced as to who was the winner, my opponent's backers, rightly, I think, arguing that the bird must be gathered. Eventually it was decided that I should have another shot, which I did and missed. We then agreed to divide without shooting off the tie, as there had been a good deal of feeling over the matter, so the bets were off.

There was plenty of pigeon shooting in most Indian stations in those days, probably on account of blue rocks being cheap and easy to obtain. There was one particular form of this sport which we tried at Satara which I never heard of before nor have seen since. It consisted of all the guns standing round in a circle forty yards apart. The bird was then released in the centre, and the two guns where the bird crossed the circle were allowed to fire, the judge in the centre deciding who killed the bird, but shooting or covering a bird inside the circle, was strictly forbidden. After every shot you moved on, so no one gained any advantage on account of wind or light. On the whole I think it was rather better sport than the ordinary trap shooting. But, unfortunately, one day a certain Major, who shall be nameless, did not wait

till the bird got clear of the circle, with the result that he put forty shot into his neighbour Davidson of the Civil Service. It must have been a very scattering gun, too, as we extracted pellets subsequently from Davidson's face as well as his legs below the knee. After that we came to the conclusion that trap shooting was less dangerous!

Years after, in Alexandria, I was introduced to still another form of shooting without traps. A deep trench about ten yards long concealed the man releasing the birds. The gun never knew from which part of the trench the bird was going to be thrown up, and it had this advantage, there were no sitters. On the other hand, the Greek sportsmen who preferred this system to traps were very quick in catching the bird before he was actually on the wing, and the percentage of kills exceeded the ordinary percentage from traps, I think.

Writing of pigeon shooting in Alexandria reminds me of a trick shooter who had been giving us an exhibition of glass ball breaking with a small rifle. He was extraordinarily adept with these glass balls, smashing them time after time, when thrown in the air or balanced on his wife's head. After his exhibition was over I asked him, as a favour, to try his hand at some pigeons, shooting with an ordinary gun. He bagged sixteen out of twenty birds thrown from the trench, and as the gun and cartridges were both borrowed, the man proved himself to be really a good sporting shot as well as trick shooter.

CHAPTER III.

Panch Mahals, 1878–1879.

Time at Ahmednagar moved all too quickly, and the close of the year found me transferred to Kaladgi, in those days the penal settlement of the Bombay Presidency, for all services. I was only there three months, and hope never to see the place again. I believe now the headquarters are at Bijapur, and a railway makes life less unpleasant. From Kaladgi I returned again to Ahmednagar for a short spell, and then home for three months' leave.

On my return I found myself posted to Broach, and possibly I should have been left there, as I am sure no one remains longer in Broach than can possibly be helped, and there was no senior man likely to turn me out. As luck would have it, however, I one day got a "Government Resolution" informing me that on account of an official sin I had committed in Ahmednagar six months before, I must revert to my substantive appointment of Assistant Superintendent of Police, and do duty in the Panch Mahals under a Colonel Latouch by way of a punishment. I had, in short, been reported by my Commissioner for telling one of my native subordinates that I was quite sure that he was innocent of a charge made against him, and if he was proved innocent, I would see that he was compensated for any expenses he was put to in his defence. My Commissioner, unfortunately, took the view that the officer was guilty, and reported that it was my influence alone that brought about an acquittal. I was, therefore, reduced without even being called on for any explanation.

Of course, I was very upset at the news, and dashed off to my pig-sticking friend Lionel Ashburner, who was then a Member of Council. I well remember that morning in dear old Ashburner's verandah on Malabar Hill, and his comforting me with the assurance that I need not worry, it would soon be forgotten. He was quite right; in six months I was back again with my former seniority, a good deal, I imagine, owing to the Magistrate who tried the accused police officer reporting to the Government

that he agreed entirely with the view I had taken of the case! This purely personal episode will not possibly be of interest to my readers, but I have dwelt on it on account of the lesson it teaches the young administrator—never despair, no matter how black the official horizon may seem for the moment.

With the exception of two short spells at Poona and Thanna, I remained in the Panch Mahals nearly two years, as an Assistant first, and then as Superintendent. Like Khandesh, it possessed a Bheel Corps, was a land of sport, and the climate was equally trying. There were just enough of us for a rubber every night in the rains, but on one occasion I recollect we had rather a heated argument, and one or two of us were not on speaking terms for a week, which upset our game! On the whole, I think it was at that time the least civilised station on the Bombay side, as Ghodra was forty miles from the main line and Dohad, the headquarters of the Bheel Corps, forty miles beyond that again. I suppose there is a railway by this time, but I used to get about the country driving four ponies in a "tonga." The ponies could pull the "tonga" through anything, but it took a lot of driving sometimes, as there was only one high road.

Baroda was not very far distant, and I think I never spent a more enjoyable week in my life than I did at Baroda, when the present Gaikwar was married.. I forget now who was responsible for the programme of entertainments, but it comprised two days' races, a ball, a cheetah hunt after buck, and wild beast sports in the special arena built by a former Gaikwar, to say nothing of champagne at every meal and horses and carriages at the disposal of all the guests for small game shooting.

But I must say I was disappointed with the wild beast fighting, it was less exciting than soldiers boxing when the winners have all been agreed on beforehand; elephant *v.* man on horseback was the only thing that produced any emotion whatever. There was, of course, a review of the Gaikwar's troops with the famous Battery of Silver Guns. I wonder what the latter would fetch at one of the Red Cross sales?

The sportsman who laid out the jump course was certainly an artist, and had an eye for casualties! One fence in particular, I remember, a stiff post and rails with a double rail on top, was considered the "pièce de résistance," and very ugly it looked. Major Hogg (Major-General now) was one of the riders on an Arab called "Sailor." He told me in confidence that "Sailor"

would stand up and complete the course. That seemed to me good enough, so I accordingly bought "Sailor" in the lotteries, and won a nice little sum, which all added to the week's enjoyment.

I think I got better quail and duck shooting in the Panch Mahals than I ever experienced before or since. I used also to have good fun hawking, having an experienced falconer in my entourage. A small sparrow-hawk I had too gave me quite good sport with mynas (native starling). The hawk was carried in the hand, not perched on the wrist as a falcon, and then thrown at the quarry when flushed. If there was a miss, the hawk usually settled on the nearest tree, and had to be coaxed back to the wrist with a piece of raw meat. The trouble was if the hawk got hold of a lizard and refused to be tempted with meat, a wounded bird fluttering had then to be substituted for the meat.

In the hot weather one always slept in the open, and I always had a small bull terrier by my side. One night I was awakened by my terrier growling, and found a large hyena making up its mind to jump and claim the dog on my bed. I did not dare sit up, but quietly drew my revolver from under my pillow, and had a shot as I lay, but though I found some blood the next morning, I never got the hyena. My dog quite realised the situation, and though a very plucky little beast, nothing would induce her to go back to her basket that night!

CHAPTER IV.

Leave in England, 1880.

In the early spring of 1880, finding that I had succeeded in getting a good dose of malaria into my bones, I obtained six months' leave on medical certificate.

Sea voyages are usually deadly monotonous, but this particular journey was full of incident as far as I personally was concerned. It was in the days when the mails were sent across Egypt, and picked up by a local steamer at Alexandria. There were not many of us going overland, but we found "a good few" tourists and others awaiting us at Alexandria, and I remember the Anglo-Indians remarked on the slackness of discipline compared with the steamer we had left at Suez. Whether it was owing to this or causes which could not be foreseen I know not, but the night before we were to reach Brindisi found us hard and fast on a rock off the Italian coast. For the moment it looked as if a good many of us were going to be drowned, as the ship got such a list that it was difficult to stand on deck. However, we all got off in the ship's boats, and eventually, when day broke, were landed in a small cove. Owing to the shallowness of the water, a good deal of wading had to be done, and another man and myself volunteered to carry all the ladies on shore, which we safely accomplished. One poor lady was more or less in a state of collapse, and her husband begged us to still further oblige by carrying her some quarter of a mile inland to a cottage, where she was put to bed!

I must say, though, it was extraordinary how plucky all the ladies were, more so than some of the men, who, I am glad to say, were not Englishmen. One old gentleman, I think he was an M.P., who was travelling with his daughters, absolutely refused to leave the ship. I think he must have been a Volunteer, as, the last I saw of him, he was standing looking over the side with a Volunteer's forage cap on! However, the ship did not break up for some hours, and the next morning he was persuaded to join

his family. Altogether it was a very mild wreck, but the trouble came with the rescue ship (a small tug) sent from Brindisi to our assistance. We got on board that evening about six, and were told that two hours would see us safe in Brindisi. Unfortunately, a gale from the north caught us, and we spent 18 hours in struggling to reach Brindisi in the teeth of the storm. I have spent a good many bad nights in the course of my life, but that was certainly the worst. I need not describe what we all suffered, 90 of us in a small saloon. At one time, too, it looked very like a second wreck.

To add to my misfortune, on the way across the Continent I was robbed of some £35 which I was silly enough to carry in a courier bag, consequently I arrived at Charing Cross with only a few shillings; Saturday evening, too, with no chance of getting the bank to cash a cheque. Unfortunately also, I was not a member of a club. Of course, the young lady at the booking office would not assist me, and I was in a regular quandary for funds for my evening's entertainment, when another young lady in the office took compassion on me, and came forward with the offer of five pounds if I would leave my watch and chain in her custody! It was in the good old days when massive gold chains adorned one's waistcoat; I am sure that if I was in the same predicament now, I should have great difficulty in raising a fiver on my wrist watch. So I got my evening's amusement, and what at one time looked like a tragedy in the Adriatic finished with a comedy at the Gaiety.

I may here tell of another similar experience which I solved in an even more original way. The same old story, no money, and hotel refusing to pay extra on a cheque. I was very anxious to catch the morning express before the bank was open, so dashed off to Paddington with only enough money for the cab. I had thought out my scheme on the way, and knowing it was useless to try the booking clerk with a cheque, rushed up to the platform inspector, told him that I wanted to go to Taunton and had no money, suggesting that I might book my luggage forward to the value of my ticket. As luck would have it, I hit on a native of Taunton, and my pronouncing Taunton in the usual West-country way did the trick. I still had a few coppers left for a morning paper to read on the way down! Possibly some of my readers may one day find themselves in a similar situation, and my precedent may be useful!

I will not attempt to describe the next six months in England. I will only say if you really want to enjoy life go away to the East for six or seven years, but get back before you have turned thirty; the only trouble is you can't stop the clock.

It was during this same visit to London that I had rather an exceptional experience with a very nervous lady. I was staying at a small private hotel in Charles Street, and had not taken the precaution to lock my door. I was in my bath, and, hearing the door, looked up, and saw a lady approaching, eyes on the ground, and evidently occupied with her own thoughts. Suddenly she saw me, and fled for the door, but was too nervous to find the handle. It was quite pitiful to watch her struggling to open the door and escape, and I could not assist her! When I went down to breakfast I recognised my visitor sitting with her husband, and she evidently recognised me (not from anything I was wearing!), as she became scarlet; I suppose the husband knew the cause of her blushes, but he continued conversing with her to cover her confusion, poor lady!

September found me appearing before a medical board on the off-chance of getting six months' extension. I felt a perfect fraud, more especially when I was asked for my home doctor's certificate, and had to confess I had not seen one! However, after asking a few questions as to the form my malaria took, I was bowed out, and waited in the passage in fear and trembling till the messenger came out with my papers, when five shillings extracted the information that I had been recommended for another six months' leave!

The medical board having been so considerate, I felt that the least I could do was to complete my cure by a season's hunting, so thought I would try my luck at the Belhus sale of hunters advertised for that week. I have attended many hunters' sales in the course of my life, but this Belhus sale was quite unique. Sir Thomas Lennard, the then Master of Belhus, had a hobby of collecting hunters from all over the country during the spring and summer, and selling them all by auction in the autumn. He found the amusement rather too expensive, I fancy, as the particular sale I attended was the last.

As far as one could judge from the catalogue, each hunter was correctly described, and faults were not excluded. At the sale every horse was jumped over a bank, bush fence, open water and a five-barred gate into the sale enclosure. You were also given

ample opportunity of examining your particular fancy some days before the sale. What is more, on the days the horses were on view, if you were lucky, like myself, you were asked in to lunch with the family circle. The same man, I think he was the whip of the local pack, rode each horse in turn, and must have jumped hundreds of fences that afternoon. I never spent a pleasanter day, and though the Belhus horses were all beyond my price, I succeeded in picking up a couple of Essex hunt horses which were sold at the same time. One proved a crib biter, and the other no man could hold, so my horse-dealing was not a success, I fear, on that particular occasion!

I was equally unfortunate some weeks later when I bought a very nice-looking horse at an auction of stag-hunters. I had tried, jumped and actually purchased the horse before the auction, and thought I had made a good bargain, but he proved hopelessly unsound, and could never have been stag-hunted as the vet. certified later. I commenced by writing a very rude letter to the dealer for having falsely described the horse as regularly hunted with staghounds. Getting a still ruder letter back, I tried other tactics, with a result that the horse was taken back, and I had no reason to find fault with the exchange, though I, of course, paid a bit more. *Verbum sap.*, a soft answer often turneth away wrath, and a horse-dealing case never pays, even if you get a verdict. The said dealer is now nearer 80 than 70, but still hunts and, I am glad to say, is still going strong.

CHAPTER V.

Sholapur and Satara, 1881–1883.

Returning to India in the spring, I found myself, now a married man, posted to Sholapur, which after Kaladgi is, I think, the worst station on the Bombay side. The climate was bad, there was little or no sport, and my work uninteresting. Panderpur, one of the holy places of the Hindu, was situated in the district, and the annual pilgrimage called for a good deal of hard work on the part of the police. The particular shrine which was so venerated could only be approached by a narrow passage, through which thousands of pilgrims had to be shepherded, allowed a brief moment for adoration, then dragged back and piloted out by another route. Yet for this brief moment, devotees travelled from all parts of India, and underwent the greatest discomfort. I remember one pilgrim in particular I found on the road approaching the Temple, prostrating himself every few feet for the last few miles of his journey, thus hoping to find favour with the deity the shrine represented. Not the least important part of the official programme was to pump air into the Holiest of Holies, otherwise many would have succumbed to asphyxia. I suppose now electric fans and lighting have greatly facilitated the arrangements, and an up-to-date water supply probably also prevents the epidemic of cholera which was as a rule the aftermath of the pilgrimage in my day.

Whilst I was at Sholapur the late Sir James Ferguson, who was Governor of Bombay, made a tour through the district on horseback, and the police had, of course, to make all the arrangements for camping, etc. His Excellency did me the honour of lunching at my camp one day, and I could not help being amused at Mr. Lionel Ashburner, who accompanied the party, whispering to me as we sat down, "Tell your man to cut the mutton thick." The mutton was cut thick, but nevertheless I was rather relieved when I reached my boundaries without any untoward mishap. Unfortunately, when summoned to receive His Excellency's

blessing, I forgot that my horse was not to be trusted, and a scrimmage ensued in which the Governor lost his helmet and nearly his seat. However, I was forgiven, but the police officer of the neighbouring district was rather puzzled when told by Sir James Ferguson to keep his distance, "I have just wished Coles good-bye, quite enough for one day!"

I certainly did not realise it at the time, but this was the last season I was ever to spend camping in India, as within three months I was offered and accepted an appointment in Egypt..

I think the last night my wife and I spent under canvas must not be omitted from my "recollections," as it was somewhat thrilling. In the middle of the night we were all awakened by a yell from the servants' quarters, and found that some animal had bitten the dog boy in the face, and immediately after another shout proclaimed the same animal in another direction. I sat up the rest of the night, but failed to see anything, but we could hear a "baloo" (so-called mad jackal) howling all night around the camp. Directly it was light we turned out and shot the brute in some scrub close to the tents. He proved to be a very mangy old jackal, and I fancy could not have been mad, as the boy recovered, though very badly bitten.

I only once heard of a similar case. A man I knew in the Forest Department was in camp with his wife and sister-in-law, when one night the latter was awakened by a jackal on her bed which tried to bite her, but the bed-clothing saved her. The jackal was killed by the servants and dogs, but two of the dogs subsequently developed rabies. I knew of this story, so my watch over my wife and child that night was an anxious one, as in those days the Pasteur treatment had not reached India.

Some years after when in Egypt I was bitten by a small pet dog, which developed rabies and was killed, so I was urged to undergo the treatment at an institute which had just been started in Cairo by the Italian Government. It was curious the way I was bitten, as the dog was muzzled at the time. I was talking to my friend, the owner of the dog, and, feeling something at my leg, looked down, and found my trouser torn and one speck of blood where the tooth had penetrated. I felt no particular ill-effects from the treatment, except very curious dreams and frightful local irritation; in fact, so inflamed did my skin become that the doctor had to abandon the abdomen and inoculated me in other parts of my body. Of course, the doctor had never

experienced anything of the kind before, and added insult to injury by asking me if I drank! By this time I fancy Pasteur Institutes exist everywhere. A friend of mine who was bitten in Egypt about the same time would not risk the Cairo treatment, and went straight off to Paris, very unwise, I think, as it gave the poison a week or ten days' start in his system. On two occasions I had narrow escapes from mad dogs in India, and I must confess that I funked a death from rabies much more than cholera; perhaps that is the reason I was bitten.

It was in April, 1883, when I had seen my wife off to Mahabaleshwar, and was just settling down to a hot season under canvas with no sport in prospect to relieve the monotony, that I quite unexpectedly received the offer of an appointment in the police in Egypt. Although the appointment was only temporary and the salary offered was less than what I was drawing in India, it did not take me long to decide that there were possibilities about Egypt which India did not offer. I accordingly made up my mind to accept the offer, much to my wife's disgust, who seemed to think that the actualities of a season on the hills was far superior to anything that we should get in Alexandria, where I was to be posted! However, as I reminded her, a season in Mahabaleshwar is one thing, and life under canvas in Sholapur with the thermometer anything from 100° to 120° day and night is quite another story.

There is nothing to my mind more enjoyable than cold-weather camping in India, and nothing more disagreeable—I was going to use another word beginning with a "d"—than hot-weather camps without any prospect of sport to compensate for the "long, long, weary day." In many districts on the Bombay side, even if you have not a hill station within reach, there is the sea camp or the hot-weather shoot specially reserved for May and April, but in Sholapur nothing of the kind. Even Tanna, with a rainfall of over 100 inches in three months, had both shooting and sea camps for the hot weather. Of all the stations I served in, Satara was without doubt the most favoured as regards climate, better even than Poona. But Poona takes a lot of beating in the season, what with racing, regattas, balls and other forms of amusement. When I was in India the club at Poona was, I think, the best club on the Bombay side. I remember dear old Probyn once jokingly telling me that his idea of happiness was to sit in the club at Poona with a good thirst on, and to listen to the ice

rattling in a gin and tonic as it was brought to him by a servant! I dare say if I had been in either Satara or Poona I should never have left India!

As I saw no prospect of anything in the shape of a good station, except for short acting periods, for many years to come, I caught the first steamer leaving for Egypt, taking all my belongings, including two dogs I had originally imported from England. I had actually given away the dogs in Bombay, but when the dogs saw their new master's servant with the chains, they seemed to realise the situation, and begged so hard not to be left that I refused at the last moment to be parted from them.

Four other police officers, all from the Bombay side, were lent by the Government at the same time that I was lent, the idea being that we should return from Egypt after five years. How little did I imagine that the rest of my official life was going to be spent in the land of the Pharaohs, or that thirty-five years later I should be writing the Recollections and Reflections of a Pasha! But "l'homme propose et le bon Dieu dispose," and I certainly have every reason to be thankful that the hot weather at Sholapur assisted me so quickly to make up my mind to accept the appointment I was offered.

CHAPTER VI.

Alexandria, 1883–1884.

It may be as well to explain that after the suppression of the Arabi rebellion the reorganisation of the Egyptian Army had been offered by the Egyptian Government to General Valentine Baker, an English officer serving in Turkey. Subsequently the English Government came to the conclusion that as the Army of Occupation and the Egyptian Army would be for some years to come jointly responsible for the public security of the country, it was not advisable that the post of Sirdar of the Egyptian Army should be held by an officer who was not on full pay in the English Army, consequently Sir Evelyn Wood was appointed Sirdar, and Baker Pasha was given the command of the Gendarmerie and Police. Baker Pasha was not in a position to dispute the decision, but hoped, I am sure, that eventually he would be reappointed Sirdar, and in the interval the Gendarmerie organisation should follow military rather than police lines. For the cities, however, he obtained the services of Indian police officers, who were organised as a separate unit under an Indian officer who was given the rank of a Pasha.

It was to this Gendarmerie and Police Headquarters in Cairo that I reported my arrival on that May morning before proceeding to take up my post in Alexandria, and duly impressed was I at being addressed as Colonel and Bey (the Turkish for colonel), owing, as I learnt later, to my having so many military officers holding the rank of major and captain, etc., under my orders in Alexandria.

I was also somewhat surprised when I received my instructions that at first I had better leave all police work to the Egyptian Governor, and for the moment confine myself to discipline, military equipment, and furnishing the Governor with any men, guards, etc., he might require in order to maintain order. I also learned that in the first panic after the burning of Alexandria it had been decided to have none but European police in

Alexandria, but now it was the wish of the authorities that I should, as soon as I could, repatriate the greater portion of this force to their respective countries.

On my arrival in Alexandria I found a force of nearer 2,000 than 1,000 men, half of whom were Europeans, and a very scratch lot they were. The first three months I was kept fully employed weeding out the undesirables, till I had reduced the European element to about 150. Even then they were not a force to be proud of, as I remember Lord Northbrook remarking when they were paraded for his inspection. The only men I had any trouble with were the Swiss Company, who refused to obey orders and talked very big about their republic and the special duty they had been enlisted for. However, one morning I paraded the Swiss, and, with a Company of Egyptians to prevent any nonsense, disarmed the lot and marched them off to a steamer waiting to take them back to Marseilles and Switzerland. But my Egyptian officers were more than amused at being called on to maintain order amongst the very men who had been specially imported for the safety of the European population.

Following the instructions I had received from Baker Pasha, I did not at first interfere in police questions proper, and confined myself to giving the Governor a lot of advice. I soon found, however, that the Governor's rôle was to ignore me entirely whilst apparently listening to everything I said.

To make it more difficult for me, I happened to have struck, in the Governor, the most energetic Egyptian I ever came across. Osman Orphy Pasha must, I think, have had about fifty per cent. negro blood in his veins, and it was this black blood that made him the man he undoubtedly was. In after years whenever I came across an exceptionally strong Egyptian I looked for and generally found the thick lips and curly hair that denoted the slave blot in the family escutcheon. But I may add that amongst Egyptians this is not considered a bar sinister.

But to return to my Governor, I think he must have slept in his clothes, and his horses in their harness, as night or day, if anything out of the common occurred in the town, I invariably found the Governor's victoria with his black Russian trotters was on the spot as soon as I was. Yet Baker Pasha had told me, "You will find that Egyptians, like the Turks, are only too glad to let someone else do the work for them, and you will have no difficulty in getting everything in your own hands as soon as you

feel competent to take over." After a couple of months I felt myself quite able to do without the Governor's interference, but it was nearly a year before I was able to get the entire control of the police into my own hands.

In this respect I was not singular, as the other police officers who came with me from India, finding themselves thwarted at every step by the Egyptians with whom they were supposed to work, and not being supported, so they said, by Baker Pasha, all resigned and returned to India.

Soon after I arrived in Alexandria I had to be present at the execution of three rather renowned individuals. One was Suleiman Dahoud, the Egyptian colonel who was responsible for the burning of Alexandria, and the other two were the Mustafezeen (police) officers who were alleged to have ordered the massacre of a number of Europeans who had sought police protection during the disturbances which occurred prior to the bombardment.

I was in no way responsible for the arrangements for the execution, and had merely to be present with the necessary police to maintain order. I had never seen a Turkish execution, and was very perturbed at what I was about to witness, when I arrived on the scene (the public square in Alexandria) and found a gallows without any drop. I was still more nervous when on inquiry I was told that all that was necessary was to seat the condemned man on a chair mounted on a small table and pull both from under him. I must admit I was very sorry for Suleiman Dahoud, as undoubtedly he was only carrying out Arabi Pasha's orders, and Arabi Pasha was safe in Ceylon. The poor devil was in an abject state of terror, and after swallowing something offered him in a glass by the Levantine doctor, which I imagine was a very strong narcotic or perhaps poison, he swooned, and was mounted on to the table and swung off in an insensible condition. It may be remembered that a full-dress debate as to whether the British Government should interfere and stop the execution took place in the House of Commons actually the evening before the execution, and I take it that if Lord Randolph Churchill, who led the opposition, could have mustered enough of a following, the execution would have been stopped even at the eleventh hour. I imagine that no similar debate ever occurred before or is likely ever to occur again.

The hanging of the two police officers was even more dramatic. The same arrangements were made by the Governor, only on

this occasion there were two gallows facing each other. The condemned men were to arrive on foot from two different prisons, and one was late. We waited a few minutes, and it seemed to me to be brutal to keep the first man in suspense: I therefore begged the Governor not to allow any further delay. Unfortunately, the second prisoner arrived on the scene just as his brother officer was swung off and was still struggling, as with the system adopted it was more or less a case of strangulation. But I never saw a man die more pluckily. He mounted the table almost without assistance, and it was soon over. I think the Governor got a bit of a shock, as he remarked to me later that next time he would leave all the arrangements to me!

Although I myself was not called on to be present at another execution till many years later, this crude system was still in force when the late Lord Kitchener was given the post of Inspector-General of Police. Lord Kitchener designed a gallows which was kept at headquarters and sent about the country as required. The new gallows was excellent for ensuring that death should be instantaneous, but it necessitated the condemned man mounting by a steep ladder to a platform. I am glad to say that as soon as I was appointed head of the Prisons Department I provided a regular execution room in each prison, and the public is no longer asked to assist at executions.

If Baker Pasha was in no haste to interfere with the Mudirs and their Turkish Cowasses undertaking all police investigations, Mr. Clifford Lloyd, who arrived in Egypt in the autumn of 1883, soon introduced quite a new atmosphere. As about this time Baker Pasha left on his ill-fated expedition for the relief of Sinkat, Mr. Clifford Lloyd was at first in no way interfered with.

Mr. Clifford Lloyd is always spoken of as an "impossible man," "bull in a china shop," etc., by the recorders of Egyptian history. Personally, I can only speak of him as I found him, an excellent chief (he was appointed Under-Secretary of State) and a first-class administrator who only required the backing to have solved the public security problem in Egypt, a problem which remains unsolved to the present day.

Unfortunately, in those early days, Lord Cromer (Sir Evelyn Baring as he then was) was not at all sure of his own backing by the Government then in power, and when it came to losing Nubar Pasha or sacrificing Mr. Clifford Lloyd, the latter's resignation

was accepted, and Nubar Pasha remained to try and upset Lord Cromer himself at a later period.

It was in September, I think, that Mr. Clifford Lloyd arrived and November when Baker Pasha left for Suakin to try and achieve a task that Sir Evelyn Wood would not or was not allowed to attempt. Of course, it was a desperate gamble on the part of Baker Pasha, with the idea of once more becoming Sirdar, but I am sure that he was also largely influenced by the appeals for assistance which came from the heroic Tewfik at Sinkat, and it will ever remain a disgrace to the Liberal Government in England that it allowed Tewfik to be finally butchered when a small expedition of 5,000 men could easily have effected his relief.

Mr. Clifford Lloyd's reforms of the Provincial Police in no way interfered with me in Alexandria, except that the Governor was less hostile till he saw that Nubar Pasha had once more the upper hand, when my position again became difficult. But outwardly the Governor was always very friendly, as he evidently looked on me as an incubus which had to be borne with for the moment. To add to my troubles, the foreign element in Alexandria, though at first grateful for English interference, after a time became very impatient with the Government, owing largely to the non-payment of the indemnities. These indemnities, amounting to £4,000,000, had been awarded by a mixed Commission to owners of property lost or destroyed owing to the bombardment. In this connection I discovered many frauds, so many, in fact, that at one time it was seriously considered whether the awards of the Commissioners should not all be reviewed. But the authorities, rightly, I think, finally decided that it would never do to reopen the whole question, and the indemnities were paid in full, though many of the claims were undoubtedly fraudulent.

General Earle commanded in Alexandria when I first arrived, and was most popular, so much so that when he was subsequently killed during the advance up the Nile, the foreign community erected a small statue to his memory.

Mr. Moberly Bell, who afterwards became manager of *The Times*, was at that time one of the leading lights of the English community in Alexandria, a position he attained solely through the very excellent letters he used to send to that newspaper. I believe I am right in saying that Mr. Moberly Bell had no special training as a literary man, and his being correspondent of *The Times* was purely accidental, as he succeeded Mr. Scott

(after, Sir John Scott) when the latter left for India. But if Sir John Scott was the means of *The Times* discovering Mr. Moberly Bell's ability, Mr. Moberly Bell was most certainly the cause of Sir John Scott's return to Egypt as Judicial Adviser; as for some time before Sir John Scott's services were applied for by Lord Cromer, the *Times* correspondent in Egypt had steadfastly advocated his appointment. I am sure, too, it was the influence of Mr. Moberly Bell, who by that time had become the manager of *The Times*, that finally obtained for Sir John Scott the sinecure he subsequently held in England to the time of his death. Thus was the debt repaid.

Soon after my arrival in Egypt we were all very much interested in a book entitled *Khedives and Pasha*, with a good deal of local colouring. The book was published anonymously, and though Mr. Moberly Bell was the suspected author, there were reasons why he could not accept the entire responsibility. One day I was travelling by train with Mr. Moberly Bell and, reading the book, I asked his explanation of a certain passage, when he replied, "Oh, that is a misprint." I smiled! If Mr. Moberly Bell had been selected as editor of *The Times* by Mr. Walter, none of us would have been surprised, but judging from his own business, which was practically managed by his partner, many had doubts as to his ability to run such a big commercial concern as *The Times*. Presumably he was a success, as he died years after, still holding the post.

CHAPTER VII.

CAIRO, 1884-1886.

MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD'S new police organisation necessitated many changes, and on Baker Pasha's return I found myself transferred to Cairo as Deputy Inspector-General of the Cairo Division—that is to say, I ceased to have anything to do with city police—but Port Said, with its Italian Chief of Police, was attached to my Division.

Soon after my return to Cairo there arose what I think may be described as the incident of the Pashas. As I have shown, Baker Pasha was rather fond of giving his officers military titles; I had swallowed the Colonel, though I was still very shy in the presence of English colonels! But one day I was startled by H.H. the Khedive addressing me as Pasha, and then learned that Baker Pasha had proposed that the three D.I.G.'s should be made "Lewas," which is the Turkish equivalent for Major-General. As Colonel Watson, Hallam Parr and other senior officers of the Egyptian Army were only Beys, the fat was in the fire, or, in less vulgar parlance, there were vigorous protests and threats of resignation! I was the only one who suffered, as, being the junior of the three police Pashas, I had not actually received my brevet, and a compromise was effected; I was made a civil Pasha instead of a military one: result, I had to pay a fee of £30, whilst the others got them free of charge! Hallam Parr and Watson both being made "Lewas" at the same time, there was once more peace in the land!

Besides this question of military rank, there was also the matter of uniform, which was rather trying to a police officer like myself, accustomed to the very unpretentious and workmanlike garments worn in India. In Egypt there were light blue and yellow facings for the Gendarmerie, chocolate with red facings for the Cities, and a much gallooned patrol jacket with light blue trousers for the Staff. Over all brooded Baker Pasha in a dove-coloured double-breasted tunic! Then, of course, there was the sacrosanct

tarbooch (fez), which at first it was difficult to remember should never be removed from the head—at all events, in the presence of a superior.

I once nearly made a frightful *faux pas* in the matter of leaving my head uncovered. It was at a ball at Abdin when, absent-mindedly, I left my tarbooch in the cloakroom with my greatcoat, and had actually nearly mounted the staircase to salute His Highness, when one of the A.D.C.'s rushed forward and warned me just in time. I had no excuse to offer, as I had been years in Egypt, but luckily the A.D.C. appreciated the situation, and was much amused at my confusion.

I think that it was this variety of fancy uniforms more than anything else that helped to spread the belief that we spent all our time in aping the military, rather than in doing our legitimate police duty. It was some years later when Colonel Settle, who followed the late Lord Kitchener as Inspector-General of Police, introduced the one uniform for all which is still worn. I may add that even this simplification of "dress" was at the time gibed at as a further proof that we were neglecting police duties and paying too much attention to "millinery." But it is always the lot of the reformer to be misunderstood!

Apart from these idiosyncrasies in the matter of uniform, I always found Baker Pasha an ideal chief to serve under, as his Turkish career gave him great weight with the Egyptian Ministers, and he was also sure of a backing at the Agency. I think that in his police organisation, with its reserves of both foot and mounted, he was influenced by what he had seen of Turkish brigands, whereas the Egyptian gangs were as a rule composed of village ruffians who, although quite prepared to murder and plunder peaceable villagers at night, were never out to defy the Government. The only difficulty was to get the inhabitants to give evidence against them.

The leader of one of these bands was a Mohamed Menchawi, the son of one of the richest landowners on the Delta. He had been disowned by his father, and although he was known to have been concerned in more than one robbery, no one could be found to give evidence to ensure his arrest and conviction. Mohamed Menchawi was physically a splendid specimen, educated, and a born leader of men if he had only kept straight. One day I sent for the father and pointed out to him that if he would agree to give his son an allowance I would endeavour to come to some

arrangement with the son. The old man agreed to give his son £300 a year provided that he left Egypt and lived in Syria. I then interviewed Mohamed Menchawi and endeavoured to get him to accept his father's offer, warning him that sooner or later we should catch him, and then he would probably be hanged or imprisoned for life. But it was quite useless, and a short time after Mohamed Menchawi was concerned in a fresh case, and this time there was sufficient evidence against him to ensure his arrest and condemnation to death, subsequently commuted to penal servitude for life. Years after I found Mohamed amongst convicts in the Soudan, and reminded him of my offer which he had refused.

There was, however, another band of brigands south of Cairo whose operations resembled more the Turkish brigandage—that is to say, that the members of the band were regularly out. On one occasion I received instructions from Baker Pasha to take fifty of the Black Reserve and surround a certain hamlet which the brigands were supposed to frequent. I had made these jaunts more than once, and did not expect any result, especially as everything went wrong. We stuck on a sand-bank, and did not reach the spot where we were to disembark till dawn. As it was useless to approach by daylight, I proceeded some miles farther up the river and remained there till the next evening. As soon as it was dark we dropped down the river again, disembarked, and after a five-mile march across country, reached the hamlet, which was duly surrounded. I sat down, waiting till it was light enough to search the houses, when all of a sudden there was a challenge, and a volley, and a dozen men had broken the cordon, severely wounding two of the blacks. However, we bagged one man with a broken leg and, as luck would have it, he proved to be the leader of the band. A few months later Baker Pasha himself rounded up the remainder in a cave, arriving on the scene quite by accident, after the local police had run them to ground. I mention these two particular bands because Mohamed Menchawi's was the typical band peculiar to Egypt, the other band south of Cairo was the exceptional, showing fight when cornered.

Writing of these brigands reminds me of a somewhat humorous incident connected with brigand hunting. An officer of the Mounted Reserve was proceeding by train with some of the Turks on an expedition, when some of the men (Bashi-Bazooks) com-

menced letting off their carbines from the train ! It appeared that the officer had for some time contemplated resigning, being disgusted with the men. This settled the question, and, on a fellow-passenger asking if they were his men firing, he denied the soft impeachment and, getting out at the next station, satisfied his conscience by wiring his resignation to Cairo ! What is more, he stuck to it and left the country ! I may observe, the officer in question has since proved himself an excellent artist, so his resignation was not quite so foolish as it at first appeared.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cairo, 1887–1888.

The late General Stephenson, who commanded in Egypt at that time, was a particular friend of Baker Pasha, and I think the many young Englishmen who have for so many years enjoyed the advantages of being members of the Turf Club have to thank General Stephenson and Baker Pasha jointly for that very useful institution. But I fear that I must admit that it was not always the moral establishment it subsequently became.

I wonder what would be said if, say, at Baghdad, the two leading members of the community were to start a gambling club and argue that, as gambling could not be altogether prevented it was best to try and regulate it! Yet such was the proposal put forward at a meeting by Baker Pasha and supported by General Stephenson, and carried with much enthusiasm; the fact being that a certain proprietor of one of the then many gambling hells in Cairo thought he saw his way to make a fortune out of the English officials in general, and the British subaltern in particular, if allowed to start an English club where gambling was permitted. An excellent club it was too; small subscription, excellent cuisine and cheap meals, and, last but not least, a room reserved exclusively for baccarat, to say nothing of a very obliging old French gentleman who was quite prepared to advance cash on I.O.U.'s, should one happen to run short!

Looking back at it now, it is marvellous to think that more were not ruined; many I could mention, of course, lost heavily, but I cannot recall anyone who was absolutely broken.

The biggest gamble I ever witnessed there, or elsewhere, was when a young Egyptian won £2,000 from a well-known tourist of title. The Egyptian was holding the bank and the tourist punting. The tourist tried to bounce the Egyptian, but the bank was always "Bon," and eventually the man of title retired from the contest, wrote the cheque, and merely remarked, "You are a very plucky player."

On another occasion, a well-known special correspondent, after a big night, found the following morning that he had more money in his pockets than he could account for. During the morning he strolled into the club and remarked to the proprietor, "I fear that I cannot quite remember all that occurred last night, but I must have had some luck." "Luck," said the proprietor, "I should say you had; seeing the condition you were in I thought I had better keep the proceeds of your last 'bank' in my safe. Here it is, upwards of £500!" The story was told me by the gentleman himself, but I was not present, so cannot vouch for its being altogether true; probably the amount won was exaggerated to make a good yarn out of it. Personally, I never could see the attractions of baccarat, and beyond an occasional dollar I never risked anything. Many British subalterns, too, found a use for baccarat never contemplated by the proprietor—borrow £5 from the Caisse, stake a dollar and then leave, was an easy way of raising a few pounds till pay-day, and I was told that this was frequently resorted to. On the whole, though, I am sure that the proprietor was by no means dissatisfied with his venture, and was excessively sorry when after some years we decided to start a members' Turf Club, in which games of chance were no longer allowed.

If Baker Pasha was the originator of the old club, Colonel Gallwey (now Sir Thomas Gallwey) was certainly the moving spirit in the creation of the present establishment. I remember well the meeting when it was finally decided to sever our connection with the proprietor and start a club of our own. Lord Cromer was in the chair, and was being somewhat heckled by the opposition (for in every British Institution there is always an opposition). Someone had put rather a conundrum to Lord Cromer, when Gallwey jumped up and volunteered to reply. Lord Cromer was only too pleased, and Gallwey's answer, "No one can answer that question, my Lord," was so well applauded that the opposition had nothing further to say!—the fact being that, apart from being an Irishman, Colonel Gallwey was at that time the most popular man in Cairo.

We moved in a body to the present building, owned by Sir Alexander Baird, and leased to us on very favourable terms. During the land boom in Cairo, so valuable was the site that Sir Alexander Baird actually offered us £35,000 to break the lease. I was on the committee at the time, and was all for accepting

the offer and spending the whole of the proceeds in a new club house at Ghizereh, amalgamating with the Sporting Club. I remember approaching Lord Cromer and asking his support. His Lordship thought for a minute, and then replied, "No, I will not, but you may tell the committee there is a good deal in the proposal. Good morning!" I felt it was useless to argue the question further, but if I could have had Lord Cromer's support I should have carried the committee with me. As things were, my proposal was rejected; and the slump coming soon after, I think Sir Alexander Baird must have been thankful that his offer was refused. But I am anticipating, for the land boom to which I have referred occurred years later.

One of the advantages of the Police was that the senior officers were provided with Government steamers for service on the Nile. Very pleasant they were too, those winter excursions to Luxor and Assouan; but during the summer months the heat in a steamer during the day reminded me painfully of camps in Sholapur—in fact, Keneh and Assouan between May and September were quite as hot as any place I ever struck on the Bombay side.

There is rather an amusing story in connection with one of these Nile trips. The then Military Attaché at Constantinople was staying in Cairo, and being very anxious to kill a crocodile, Baker Pasha promised to give him an opportunity. Nowadays a crocodile is unknown north of Assouan, and in those days they were very rare. However, one morning Baker Pasha detected a large crocodile asleep on a sand-bank, and the animal was carefully stalked with the help of the small boat, the Military Attaché in the bows with his rifle. The crocodile was not disturbed, and the Attaché got a couple of shots well home apparently. The boat was then rowed vigorously to the spot, the Attaché being the first to jump on the bank to secure his trophy. He rushed forward and was heard to exclaim, "Why, the brute has been eating straw." The murder was then out, and it was some time before the Attaché heard the last of the joke Baker Pasha had so well staged with the help of a stuffed crocodile!

I think it said a good deal for Baker Pasha's influence with the authorities that he succeeded in squeezing out of the Treasury the price of these steamers, and the action was much criticised at the time, as Egypt was in a bankrupt condition, and both men and horses were absolutely without accommodation in the

Provinces. I remember being very proud of a great coup I brought off at the expense of the Army Barrack Department. In my wanderings I discovered that the Tel-el-Kebir Barracks, though built of mud bricks, contained a lot of timber which would be extremely useful to build police huts. An Arabic letter vaguely worded as to the quantity of wood available brought me the necessary permission from the War Office, and the police headquarters never found out how I managed in my division to erect so many mud barracks for the men so cheap!

It was not till some years later that Lord Kitchener as Inspector-General designed and built the first masonry station, with its luxurious stabling and rest rooms for inspectors. In those early days the unfortunate inspectors had to do the best they could, sleeping in the most filthy Greek "bakals"—one might as well have been in the main drain as far as sanitation was concerned. Why more of us did not get typhoid fever I never could understand. I suppose, like sewer rats, we became immune!

Poor Baker Pasha, I fear that his police steamer brought him no luck, for his wife died on board in one of his trips up the Nile, and three years later he also breathed his last at Tel-el-Kebir in the same cabin, whilst returning from the Suez Canal.

How well I recall that last voyage. Baker Pasha was recovering from influenza, and having to meet his daughter at Port Said, decided to take his steamer down the Suez Canal and inspect the police at the same time.

The late Lord Dunmore was one of the party, and kept Baker Pasha and myself amused on the way down with his stories of Court life. I forget now what was Lord Dunmore's particular post at the Court, but I have always remembered one of the stories he told us. On the particular occasion Lord Dunmore had to introduce ladies into Her late Majesty's presence at a drawing room at Buckingham Palace. One lady was so nervous that she was unable to find her card for presentation. The Queen was waiting, so Lord Dunmore said, "Never mind, tell me your name." By this time the lady was so overcome she could not even articulate; her mouth opened, but no sound was produced. Lord Dunmore was getting desperate when luckily he espied the end of a card appearing from no man's land, and guided the lady's hand to the spot. The incident closed, and the nervous lady recovered sufficiently to make her curtsey!

Lord Dunmore had a house in Cairo at the time, and being

a great friend of Baker Pasha's I saw a good deal of him. He was very good company and a great musician. I can see him now at a charity entertainment at Kaser-el-Nil conducting a band composed entirely of amateurs. I doubt Cairo being able now to produce so much musical talent, and I am sure that nobody would lick them into shape and produce so harmonious a whole as that which Lord Dunmore produced with his orchestra.

But to return to our trip to Port Said. We nearly met with disaster on the way down, as the Egyptian pilot, meeting a steamer with an electric light, lost his head and tried to run inside a big steamer tied up to the bank, making no allowance for the hawser. Baker Pasha and I were sitting on deck, and it was only by lying flat on our faces that we dodged the cable, which, owing to our impetus, completely swept off all our awning and nearly wrecked our smoke stack. It took us some little time to get clear of the wreckage, but the next morning we mopped up the mess and proceeded on our journey minus our awning.

The visit to Suez was completed, and I decided to leave at Ismailia on our return journey. Baker Pasha begged me to stay, and when I left him on the boat at Ismailia he told me that I had much better change my mind, as his cook "was making an excellent curry for dinner." I little imagined that this curry was going to kill him, but the next morning I got a wire from his daughter telling me that the Pasha had died suddenly at Tel-el-Kebir during the night. It appeared that after dinner he went to bed, and his daughter was called up about an hour later with her father in great pain in his chest, and in a few minutes he was gone. I believe the doctors diagnosed it as angina-pectoris, but I shall always believe it was the curry, on a heart and digestion weakened by influenza. I speak from experience of curry the last thing at night, and Baker Pasha was not a young man.

During the last two years of his life I had seen a good deal of Baker Pasha, and used constantly to dine quietly with him in Cairo. He never mentioned his early days in the 10th Hussars, and I naturally did not, but he was always ready to talk of his Turkish campaign, and was ever proud of the part he played with the Turks. I remember his describing how on one particular occasion he was ordered to move the corps he commanded some dozen miles in what he considered was an entirely wrong direction. He obeyed the order, as he had to, "But there was no order

against my marching back again, and I did that too." This counter-move saved the situation. I tell the story as Baker Pasha told it to me. Military readers must judge how far he was justified in obeying the letter and ignoring the intention of the command he received. The success of his unauthorised return can hardly be pleaded. Anyhow, Baker Pasha's action showed him to be a man who was prepared to take considerable risks. For such he undoubtedly was.

Baker Pasha did himself uncommonly well, and many a good dinner have I eaten at his table. I once asked him if a bottle of champagne was his regular allowance when alone. He replied, "Sometimes my daughter has a glass out of the bottle, but I never touch other wine or spirit." I must confess I admire his taste, and wish my purse and my liver permitted my following his example.

In manner and appearance Baker Pasha might have been a Turk, as, away from his own house, one never saw him out of uniform or without his tarbooch. He was not easily upset, but was very particular that Mudirs and others paid him the respect due to his Turkish rank. I remember once hearing him give a Mudir a severe telling-off, because he did not at once come to pay his respects. I laughed at the time, but my subsequent experience convinced me that it was the proper attitude to follow. Eastern officials do not understand power unless associated with ceremony.

By profession Baker Pasha was a soldier, and circumstances over which he had no control made him a police officer, but I am sure that he always hoped to be Sirdar of the Egyptian Army when the Army of Occupation left. He probably would have been if the Drummond-Wolff Mission had proved a success and we had evacuated Egypt. What a different story of Egypt and the Near East in general would now have to be written if the Sultan had only signed that Convention! I doubt if Turkey would ever have been dragged into the present war, for one thing; but who can now tell?

CHAPTER IX.

Cairo, 1888.

I suppose one of these days someone will write the history of the Egyptian Army under English rule, and he will assuredly record that at the time of Baker Pasha's death the Fellaheen soldiers were not held in very high repute as a fighting force, however much we might admire their smartness on parade. Sir Evelyn Wood had left, and General Grenfell and the Kitchener group were hardly known outside Cairo. In short, there was a general feeling that Fellaheen soldiers required a lot of backing. An attempt was made to form one or two battalions of Turks, and I remember the commanding officer of one of these battalions telling me what a pleasure it was once more to command men who had indifferent defaulter sheets! I fancy that he changed his mind afterwards, as the men he commanded mutinied, and the severest measures had to be taken to restore order.

The negro soldiers returned from the Soudan then became fashionable, and were utilised by Baker Pasha to create a Police Reserve, and the 9th and 10th Battalions in the Army were also formed. On Baker Pasha's death, the Police Reserve became the 11th Battalion of the Army, and later, the 12th, 13th and 14th were conscripted, mostly in Cairo. A very rough conscription it was too, any man with negro features being kidnapped in the bazaars, amongst them many private servants of officials. I remember at the time many of us ridiculed the idea of these men ever becoming soldiers to be relied on, but nevertheless they did! It is a peculiarity of the Black: he will fight for anyone, be it a Mahdi or German taskmaster, as the campaign in East Africa has demonstrated. I suppose all savages are the same, but I could not help being struck with the similarity of the Blacks to my old friends the Indian Bheels—the same mixture of courage and childishness, and, alas! addiction to strong drinks; the same peculiarity as to their womenfolk and dislike to being separated from them for any length of time. The late General Sir Hector

Macdonald was the "Bimbashi" (Major) in the Police Reserve and told me many stories of his experience with his Blacks. I remember one in particular. One day he had, in a fit of temper, struck his soldier servant. The next day, to his surprise, his servant appeared at the orderly room with "a complaint to make against the Bimbashi." Macdonald asked what it was, and the reply came, "You struck me yesterday without first challenging me three times!"

Officers who have served with Blacks are loud in their praises, but I have no doubt that the Egyptian is the more satisfactory Policeman. Many Egyptians, too, are by no means wanting in pluck and physically they are far superior to Blacks. But if you want to see an Egyptian at his best attend a large fire in either Cairo or Alexandria and watch the fire brigade at work. An Egyptian fireman can breathe in an atmosphere which would suffocate most Europeans, and falling walls and roofs have no terrors for him, he being apparently without any nerves in this respect.

I fear that I am trespassing on the preserves of the future historian of the Egyptian Army, but, having commenced, I might as well go on, and possibly commit myself still further on a subject about which I am not qualified to express any opinion that will carry much weight, I mean as regards the officers. The Military School in Cairo has always struck me as an ideal precedent for India to follow when the time comes for commissions to be given to the better class natives. The young Egyptian cadet becomes extraordinarily efficient at his drill and gymnastic exercises, as everyone who has attended the annual Military School "At Home" can testify. I doubt Sandhurst or Woolwich giving smarter exhibitions. The truth, I believe, is that the cadet so full of promise does not always develop into the officer one is led to expect; and the rankers of the Indian Army are said to be more reliable. But I doubt the promoted rankers of the Indian Army having the same dash as the younger Egyptians from the Egyptian Military School.

I do not suppose that the conscript system of Egypt will ever be, or could be, followed in India. On the contrary, after the war and reduction in national armies, if it ever comes to that, we shall have everybody following the voluntary system of the old English and Indian Armies. But I am sure that the Egyptian Government can never altogether forgo the right of conscription.

It is a very useful weapon, and I only wonder that the Sirdar has not made more use of it to repeople the Soudan; it shows great forbearance on his part! Such a simple matter: halve the period with the colours on the condition that the exempted half-period is spent in the Soudan as a reserve, cultivating land rent free and called up for military exercises for a few weeks each year. The Egyptian is very fond of his village, but once transplanted he soon settles down to new surroundings. Many soldiers, I am sure, would remain on permanently after completion of military service, in the interval more land would be cultivated, and a much larger body of men would be available in the Soudan for the maintenance of order if required. But the Soudan was not reconquered till ten years later, so my scheme for repopulating it, is—or, rather, was—somewhat premature!

In the early days of the occupation everyone went about in uniform and with a sword. To appear in mufti anywhere outside the Sporting Club it was necessary to be armed with a tennis racket! Another foreign custom, too, duelling, which has since completely died out, one heard a good deal of in the early eighties. I fear, too, that the fact that Englishmen did not fight duels, if they could possibly help it, was known and traded on. One particular case I remember, when a subaltern first perpetrated a silly practical joke at Shepheard's, and then objected to fight, was much talked about and required a good deal of explanation. But we got a bit of our own back later when a young barrister, on being called "*Canaille*," at a table d'hôte, promptly retaliated by throwing a glass of drink in the man's face, and cut his lip open. The Englishman was by no means an expert swordsman, but forthwith took lessons so as to make a fight of it. Luckily for him, the foreigner—the challenger—was unable to explain a little affair of a cheque in which he had been concerned, so "satisfaction" for the cut lip was not considered necessary!

I must say that most of these affairs of honour were not very serious, and to make them still safer for the principals someone as a rule informed the police of the rendezvous. Colonel Thurneyson, an Austrian officer in the Khedive's household, was rather unfortunate in killing his opponent on one occasion, but, as I heard it explained, it was quite accidental, and the man's own fault, as "he was so rash and a very poor swordsman." I can vouch for Thurneyson being an excellent sportsman and a

first-rate fellow in every way, but I never heard of anyone wanting to fight a duel with him after the "accident."

I can recall another meeting, too, which was by no means an arranged affair; an Egyptian Minister was one of the principals, and an Italian his opponent. The Egyptian meant business, selected pistols as the weapon, and, even after he was wounded and his pistol broken in his hand, would have had another shot if he had been allowed. But all these affairs of honour ceased for some reason in later years; at least, I never heard of any after I left the Police.

CHAPTER X.

Alexandria, 1889-1890.

The death of V. Baker Pasha in 1888 gave Nubar Pasha an opportunity of reopening the Police question. I shall have something to say on this famous (for Egypt) question later, but for the moment I will only refer to the matter in so far as it affected me personally.

For some reason or other, Nubar Pasha had taken a dislike to me since the early days in Alexandria, when my Police policy did not always agree with the Egyptian Governor's. He once described me to a mutual friend as "*le plus brutal de tous les Anglais*," but I think not a little of his dislike to me was on account of my being an Indian official and his fear of my introducing Indian methods of administration which might lead to Egypt being Indianised altogether! Possibly, too, there was some truth in Nubar's soft impeachment, as in those early days I was also labelled dangerous at the British Agency, and Sir Evelyn Baring, as he then was, once urged my return to India as my temperament was "unsuitable for the Egyptian methods of administration." In after years, when (as Lord Cromer) he wrote me, saying "amongst the many who have helped me out here there are none whose services I appreciate more highly than yours," my friends chaffed me and told me that Lord Cromer in his prime had gauged my true worth and only in his dotage had he changed his views! I again say possibly many a true word is spoken in jest; my faults of temperament are, I fear, too well known in Egypt for me to pretend I have none! Anyhow, the Police reorganisation included my transfer to Alexandria as Inspector-in-Chief of the Police of Lower Egypt, with no executive power and no very defined duty.

I must confess to the next three years being the happiest days of my life. My freedom from any executive duty gave me ample time for amusement (it was then I created the Sporting Club in Alexandria), and my roving commission of inspection assisted me

to collect information which was of the greatest use to me later when recalled to Cairo by the late Lord Kitchener, then Kitchener Pasha. Last, but not least, it enabled me to make many friends, I hope, amongst the commercial community (merchant princes, I prefer to call them) resident in Ramleh. One gentleman in particular I remember who was never so happy as when entertaining his friends, and when our respective families were away in the summer I might, had I wished, have lived entirely at his expense. I am afraid that my wife rather traded on his generosity, for whilst I was busy creating a sporting club she succeeded in getting Mr. Alderson (I hope he will forgive me for mentioning his name) to build, practically at his own expense, and to endow the small church now existing for the English community at Ramleh. I think she considered it a sort of peace-offering for any sins I might be guilty of in connection with racing.

Years after I saw this same gentleman perform rather a plucky, some people would call it a foolhardy, act. A travelling menagerie had got stranded in Alexandria, and to keep the show from being sold up and dispersed Mr. Alderson put up the whole establishment in his garden for several months, and finally, as an advertisement to draw the public, volunteered to go into the lion's cage on a certain date. What is more, he actually did.

The Casino at San Stefano was built about this time, and very pleasant it was to have a place like San Stefano where one could dine in the summer, practically on the seashore, and at the same time listen to a very good band, to say nothing of being surrounded by some of the prettiest and best-dressed women in the world. I speak advisedly, for a Greek lady in a costume straight from Paris is certainly very hard to beat as regards looks!

I remember one very disastrous evening, though, when, owing to some mishap in the cuisine, some forty of us were poisoned with a particular cabinet pudding. I personally had retired to rest when attacked, but the large majority were still at the Casino, and the sight was very ludicrous, so I was told. But for those who were taken ill it was anything but amusing, and I did not recover from the effects for weeks; in fact, it was months before I could ever be induced to dine at the Casino again, and years before I could face a cabinet pudding. It only shows what self-suggestion is accountable for.

Santé, of Ezbekieh Garden fame, was running San Stefano at the time, and much distressed he was at the incident, as it might have

ruined his reputation as a caterer. I remember his arguing that it must have been a poisonous snake that had contaminated the milk from which the pudding was made!

Poor old Santé (he died soon after) was quite a sportsman in his way and attended all race meetings at Alexandria, and was not a very successful plunger. On one occasion we were returning from what must have been a very "bad meeting" for him. I was chaffing him on the trouble he was likely to get into with Madame Santé over his losings. He assured me that it would be all right. "I shall present her with £5 and say, 'There, my dear, are my winnings.'" A very practical way of meeting anticipated trouble, but it is not everyone who can produce the necessary £5 note.

It was whilst I was, so to speak, marking time at Alexandria that I was also able to devote more attention to small-game shooting, and many an enjoyable day I enjoyed after snipe and quail. I think the snipe shooting in Egypt is far superior to quail; snipe are much harder to kill, and one can have plenty of sport without damaging standing crops, to my mind no small consideration.

I remember one occasion when a couple of subalterns, quail shooting, had a very nasty experience with the owners of the land. In addition to the damage to the standing crops, some fellaheen got peppered with shot. The villagers then tried to take the gun away, and in the struggle the gun went off and blew a man's brains out. The young officers were then disarmed and rather roughly handled till the arrival of the village headmen, who did their best to protect them after sending for the police. All the elements of a Denshawi case: but the punishment inflicted on the natives on this occasion was only flogging, without any hanging I am glad to say. These cases are very difficult for the authorities to deal with. When a British officer is ill-treated, severe notice must be taken. At the same time, justice requires that the provocation cannot be altogether ignored. It made me feel very old when years after this same young subaltern turned up in Cairo commanding the same battalion he was with when the accident occurred.

There is another form of quail shooting peculiar to Alexandria, which can be enjoyed without doing any damage to crops, and I have seen during September, when the birds are flighting from Europe, as many as 100 brace killed of an afternoon in a few acres. Prince Omar Toussom was very fond of this sport, and had some

of his land near Aboukir planted out expressly to attract quail. All that was necessary was to have men watching to give information on the arrival of a flight in the early morning, and in the afternoon the shoot could be sure of a good bag, the same ground being repeatedly shot over as the quail arrived.

I have to thank Prince Omar, too, for some very good duck shooting on some lakes he kept strictly preserved. I looked on it as a great compliment, as the Prince never, as a rule, asked anyone to shoot, and the guns were usually his own retainers. The bag was generally nearer 1,000 than 100, the Prince's object being to establish a record over his cousin, who had a similar shoot elsewhere; the birds being as far as possible driven to the Prince himself, who was an excellent shot. I suppose most Englishmen would say it was a peculiar and somewhat selfish way of enjoying sport.

But the Prince was, nevertheless, a great sportsman and an excellent specimen of a man in every way, and I fancy that I knew him better than most Englishmen. He is supposed to be very anti-English, and is certainly very pro-Egyptian, in that he manages his vast estates entirely himself without any European expert assistance. I am sure that if all the Khedives of Egypt had been as just and able administrators as the Prince there would never have been any Egyptian Question.

Sir William Butler was the General Commanding in Alexandria on this, my second, period of service there. Lady Butler is, of course, well known as an artist, and the General had literary talent and somewhat independent views for an officer holding his position. He was always very much interested in anything which might be made use of for publication, and hearing that there was a centenarian still living at Aboukir who was supposed to have seen the Battle of the Nile, the General travelled down to Aboukir to interview him. The conversation was held with the assistance of an interpreter, and the General was most anxious that the old man should tell his own story without the interpreter putting leading questions. All went well. The old man well remembered many years ago, when he was a lad, many ships coming into the bay and a storm arising. The General by this time was intensely interested and fully persuaded that he was going to have an account of the battle from an eye-witness. His feelings may be imagined when, on further questioning, the reply came, "One of the ships came on shore and was full of melons." There is a lot

of humour in the story, but it requires to be told by a good *raconteur*, as I heard it, to be fully appreciated.

I remember on another occasion the General nearly gave the show away. I had persuaded him, much against his wish, to judge at the races. In one race there was a very close finish, and, standing close to the judge's box waiting for his verdict, I was much disconcerted when, turning to me, he said, "I really can't say who won." I whispered back, "Then, for God's sake, give it a dead heat between the two leading horses," which I named. This was done, and all was well, as the verdict was not questioned! I came to the conclusion after that it was best to choose an expert as a judge rather than one holding a high official position!

But a judge's lot is not always a happy one, judge he ever so wisely. I remember on one occasion giving a dead heat verdict in Cairo and being more or less insulted in the weighing enclosure after. I flatter myself that I was equal to the occasion, as without losing my temper (rather unusual for me!) I turned to the Secretary and requested him to remove the offender from the enclosure. The next day I got a letter of apology from General Talbot, on "behalf of the Officers of the Army of Occupation," for the very questionable behaviour of the gentleman concerned, who, I may add, was not even the owner of either of the horses.

I know of no job which I like less than judging, unless it is handicapping, which also fell to my lot for several seasons. Latterly we have had a paid handicapper for Egyptian racing generally, and though I have heard him much abused I think the clubs got good value for their money.

I once had rather a curious experience as auctioneer after a race. I had been asked to sell a broken-down English mare belonging to the late Sir Eldon Gorst, who was then Financial Adviser. I think £25 was the outside price I expected, as the mare "made a noise," and was therefore not likely to produce good stock, all that at most she was fit for. Directly I put her up, a rather objectionable type of sportsman, whose object clearly was to curry favour (so it appeared) with Gorst, at once bid £100. I looked at Gorst and he at me, evidently very annoyed. There being no other bid, the mare was knocked down. To make it more unpleasant, the new owner went about, saying, "What good luck, my getting the mare so cheap!" Sir Eldon later discussed with me what action he should have taken, and I told him that had I been in his place I should have at once bid £200 and withdrawn the mare. The whole thing was so blatant as to be almost insult-

ing. This same gentleman once presented Sir Eldon with a box of the most expensive cigars that were to be bought, but this time Sir Eldon was even with him, and replied, "Not big enough for a bribe, and one is sufficient as a gift." Racing in Egypt produces strange bedfellows sometimes, but, funny to relate, this racing magnate was in many ways quite a good sort, and, anyhow, as a patron of the Turf we dared not quarrel with him altogether.

Whilst at Alexandria I had to return to India to qualify for my Indian pension. It seemed very absurd, but I was told that nothing short of an Act of Parliament would enable me to avoid this formality, and I accordingly went. I imagine that no one has ever before or will ever again voyage all the way to India for *one day only*. But this is actually what I accomplished. I arrived one morning, reported myself at the Secretariat, and, obtaining permission to return the same afternoon, hurried across to the steamship offices and found a steamer leaving the next morning, booked my passage and left!

I cannot say I was sorry to leave India for good. India is all very charming for a young unmarried man with no ties; but in the matter of climate is certainly very inferior to Egypt. Again, the Indian Service, with its cut-and-dried regulations, cannot, I think, be compared with the exceptional opportunities Egypt offers for a man of parts. To put it in another way, a man of average intelligence who is prepared to take certain risks is much more likely to come to the front in the Egyptian Service than in India. In Egypt questions are constantly arising for which there is no precedent to guide one, whereas in India so many able administrators have for years been making history that it is difficult to avoid following a beaten track even if one's inclination is to explore for shorter cuts. The whole official atmosphere of India is too dead against experiments, and woe betide the young civilian if he is caught ignoring the chapter and verse of regulations which have been drawn up for his "information and guidance" by generations of elders. Again, there is no question that the Indian administrator planted in Egypt finds himself in a far stronger position than many of his brother administrators who, though they may be very able men, are as often as not learning their job at the expense of the Egyptian taxpayer. This is, anyhow, the view I took when I decided to sever my connection with India, notwithstanding that for the moment the horizon of the Police Administration was anything but rosy.

CHAPTER XI.

Police Headquarters, 1890-1891.

It was in the spring of 1890 that Kitchener Pasha (as he then was) was asked to reorganise the Police. Of the Egyptian Army officers I was acquainted with, in those early years, I knew less of Kitchener Pasha than of any of the others, as prior to my transfer to Alexandria on this second occasion Kitchener Pasha had been largely employed on the frontier and at Suakin. However, Kitchener Pasha was generally recognised, even then, as the coming man, though I do not suppose any of us quite realised at that time to what an extent Lord Kitchener was going to make history in the future. Anyhow, we all felt that Sir Evelyn Baring (as he then was) meant business this time, more especially as Nubar Pasha no longer blocked the way, but, nevertheless, we were not a little curious to see what form the reorganisation would take. We had not long to wait. I was summoned to Cairo and told that my job was the Inspectorate of all Egypt, and the half-dozen inspectors who would reside in the Provinces under the new scheme would all report to and take their orders from me. Of the other two senior officers, one was charged with Criminal Investigation and the other with Supply and Equipment.

I do not know whether Kitchener Pasha foresaw the result of this organisation when he created these posts, but I very soon found that it largely rested with my particular branch to make the scheme a success or failure. I found, too, that my advice was listened to and acted on to a great extent, especially in connection with the reorganisation of the village watchmen. Hitherto it had been left to the village sheikhs to appoint and pay their own watchmen. This meant a paper organisation of watchmen who never existed and were never paid, yet if one accepted the various circulars and instructions regarding watchmen which existed, half the male population of a village were employed every night watching the remaining half who slept! The first thing we did was to halve the number and double their pay, and insist on the

pay being collected by the sheraffs and paid by the Police officers monthly to the gaffirs employed. This simple expedient, carried out after considerable opposition by Riaz Pasha, has been further developed in later years by still further reductions and still further increase of pay, till at the present time the gaffir cess is incorporated in the regular Budget provisions of the country and the gaffirs are paid as the Police. Yet ten or fifteen years later one reads in reports about the gaffirs being for the first time put on a proper footing!

I remember well Rundle Pasha (now Sir Leslie Rundle), who was one of Kitchener Pasha's advisers in those days, reading the memo. I had drawn up and, passing it to Kitchener Pasha, strongly urging him to act on it, which he did!

But Kitchener Pasha's principal assets in his Police reorganisation were his position in the Army and his influence with Grenfell Pasha, then Sirdar. Up to Kitchener Pasha's advent we had been doing the best we could with the officers selected from the Arabi remnants. But now many young officers who had been serving under English officers for the past eight or nine years were transferred from the Army, and drafts of men, too, who had served their time with the new army, were passed into the Police as reservists.

Altogether the whole aspect of the Police was entirely changed. With this, and Kitchener Pasha's strong personality, which seemed to infect all, it was not to be wondered at that a year later, when Kitchener Pasha became Sirdar and ceased to have anything to do with the Police, he was able to report that he had reduced crime by some 50 per cent.

This Police episode of Kitchener Pasha's life is not generally known, and it has always seemed to me marvellous that he should have taken such a personal interest in the whole subject, knowing nothing of police questions when he undertook the task, yet, for the time being, throwing himself heart and soul into the various details, not only as to the provision of men and officers, but also as to the changes of the Code which he soon learned were necessary if he were to succeed.

In one respect, I remember, he refused to be guided by my advice and persuaded Mr. Scott (as he then was) to agree to certain Police officers being made Committing Magistrates. As an old Indian officer, this appeared to me to be entirely outside our functions, and I am sure that Mr. Scott must have felt so, too,

but, nevertheless, he gave way! I remember lunching with Mr. Scott and Kitchener Pasha when another scheme of Judicial and Police Reform was to be discussed, and seeing Kitchener Pasha's frown when I failed to support his proposal in as whole-hearted a manner as I was intended to! I must admit that it was seldom I had the courage to disagree when I saw that Kitchener Pasha's mind was made up. I once heard him described by an officer who was very intimate with him as "knowing nothing about architecture, yet if asked he would undertake to build a church, and when it was completed it would not be such a bad church after all." It has often struck me since that this was a very true sketch of the great man's character. He might be ignorant of the minor details, but he would undertake anything, and the general result would be good, whatever he undertook.

But the remarkable thing was that it was these minor details that seemed to interest him most. For instance, the travelling gallows—which I have referred to in a previous chapter—was designed and tested under his personal supervision. Although, too, I was asked to prepare the rough sketch of our first police station, my proposals were considerably modified before final acceptation. I always accompanied him when inspecting in the Provinces and interpreted for him, as, strange to relate, he had difficulty in making himself understood with Mudirs who only spoke Arabic, though, as a matter of fact, he had been speaking Arabic in Palestine before the occupation of Egypt was thought of. I was surprised, too, in after years, when he returned as H.B.M.'s Representative, to find that he had less difficulty in holding conversations with the many Sheikhs and others who came to see him than he had in the Police days years before he left Egypt.

The discipline of the Police was practically left to the inspectors and myself, and promotions and transfers were also carried out in my Inspectorate Office, though reasons for everything were required. But uniforms and general turn-out of the men did not appear to interest Kitchener Pasha in the least, and he once told me that as a soldier this was his failing, and in this respect he wished he could be as keen as Rundle Pasha, who often accompanied us on our provincial tours!

At that time gang robbery was very prevalent, especially in the Fayoum, and one day Kitchener Pasha sent for me to propose a young Englishman as commandant. This being the first occasion the experiment of an English commandant in the

Provinces was to be tried, I thought for a minute or two, and replied, "Young Birch, of the Cairo Police, is the man for the job, especially as he is doing himself no good in Cairo." Birch was accordingly sent and very soon justified my selection. Years after, when Lord Kitchener returned to Egypt, he found "young Birch" had become Birch Pasha and was head of the Domains. I fancy that Egypt did more for Birch Pasha than for any other British official. His position in the Domains was largely owing to Sir Ernest Cassel, who took a great fancy to him, but I know of no man who had more influence with Egyptians than Birch Pasha had, from the ex-Khedive downwards. He died in 1912, still in his prime, and I am sure that Lord Kitchener felt his loss, as, apart from his personal regard, he looked on Birch Pasha as a most capable official.

CHAPTER XII.

Police Headquarters, 1892-1893.

I do not know whether the authorities had decided on the successor to Grenfell Pasha (now Lord Grenfell) in the position of Sirdar for any length of time prior to his departure from Egypt; if they had, they kept it very dark, as I am sure that up to the very last Kitchener Pasha was very nervous that he would not be selected. I remember him saying, "I suppose they think that I shall be satisfied with this post of Inspector-General of Police, but I certainly shall not; I shall resign at once if anyone else is appointed Sirdar." But no one else was appointed, and, to avoid any question, Colonel Settle (afterwards Sir Henry Settle), who was supposed at that time to be too senior to serve under Kitchener Pasha, was given the police appointment.

General Grenfell had a great send-off when he left, as he was deservedly very popular. I remember his coming round to all of us in our offices to bid us good-bye in person, asking each of us if he could be of any assistance to us. Of course, we all declared that his kindly remembrance was all that we wanted; but one officer rather interfered with the programme by stating he had a great favour to ask, and the General was much relieved to find that it was only his photograph that was required!

A dinner and a send-off at the station was what all the big people had to undergo in the early days, and I actually assisted at two send-offs of General Grenfell, one as Sirdar and one later as General Officer Commanding the Army of Occupation—quite a record, I imagine. But of all the farewell entertainments I have witnessed nothing has ever come up to the one given to Wodehouse Pasha on his leaving the Frontier Command, I mean as regards a spontaneous demonstration on the part of the native officers. I especially remember a speech made by a native sheikh who spoke of "the women of Wadi Halfa suffering from wounds only Wodehouse can heal and the men as spreading their blankets to dry up their tears!" General Wodehouse was himself too

affected to speak in reply. The next day at the station there was a crowd of Berbereens who had come of their own accord to bid the Pasha farewell.

I remember telling this story to a man some years after, and he remarked, " It is funny that you should tell me this, as last year I was at a theatrical performance in an up-country station in India where Sir Josseline Wodehouse (as he had then become) was commanding. On the arrival of the General at the theatre all the soldiers made a demonstration, so popular was he." It is not every man who has the power of commanding such affection from subordinates, both black and white. The secret is, I am sure, *sympathy*, written large.

I had no reason to complain of the change in the Police command, as my advice was still sought and acted on, and, if anything, I found myself in a stronger position than with Kitchener Pasha. This lasted from 1892 to 1894, and if nothing very brilliant was accomplished during that period there is no doubt that the organisation of the Police was vastly improved. A seniority list was introduced, officers were all brought on to a graded list, and searching examinations had to be passed in both laws and regulations before promotions were granted. Further, as young officers became available from the Military School, the less competent seniors were weeded out. The somewhat gorgeous uniform of Baker Pasha's regime was replaced by less conspicuous but more useful dark blue, which exists at the present day. Last, but not least, the mass of Police orders of the past ten years were sifted out and codified, so that it became possible for young officers to learn their duties by book as well as by practical experience. In this connection, all the spade-work, of course, fell to my share, but the important point was to get Riaz Pasha to accept the regulations when completed. I may explain that Mr. Clifford Lloyd's original Police Decree provided that all Police orders might only be promulgated by the Inspector-General after approval by the Minister. But to get Riaz Pasha to agree to all *en bloc* was quite another story. Settle Pasha was for publishing the orders and chancing the approval after, whereas I suggested that the Minister's approval should be obtained before publication. Finally Settle Pasha agreed to try Riaz before publication. In the course of a morning Settle Pasha came into my room, threw the regulations on the table with, " I told you so ; Riaz Pasha has refused." I said, " Leave them with me and

I will have a try." It took me all my time, but eventually I worked it, and the next morning when Settle Pasha came to the office I presented him with the regulations duly approved and signed by Riaz.

It was no small triumph, and all the more remarkable because Riaz Pasha had come back to power expressly to keep me in order.

But this is another story, and is, I think, worth mentioning, as it shows perhaps better than anything how the action of Police Headquarters had been wrongly interpreted by more than one Egyptian historian. Nubar Pasha had so persistently spread about that the Inspector-General of Police was undermining the power of the Mudirs in the Provinces that it was believed by many who did not take the trouble to inquire into the question *au fond.* If my early training in India had taught me anything, I had certainly learned that the District Magistrate (Mudir) should have general control of all the officials working in his particular charge. As the Chief Police Officer of an Indian Province (District) I never received any instructions from a superior authority which were not perused and passed on by the District Magistrate of the Province. It was open to the said District Magistrate to refer back to the superior authority any order not approved. In this way the District Magistrate's control was assured. This, in short, was the system I suggested to Settle Pasha that we should introduce, in modification of the direct correspondence with Police commandants which had come into vogue under the Kitchener Pasha regime.

The proposal was agreed to by Settle Pasha, the draft of the circular to the Mudirs was approved, and, in the absence of Settle Pasha from the office, was sent out by me signing for the Inspector-General. Of course, I should not have signed the circular had I had any idea of the trouble it was going to cause. But at that time the relations between the Khedive and the Prime Minister, Mustapha Pasha, were very strained, and every endeavour was being made to make Mustapha Pasha resign (see Lord Cromer's *Abbas II.*). This was known; so a few of the Mudirs and a hostile press seized the opportunity to entirely misinterpret the purport of the circular, which was described as that of a subordinate Police official issuing orders to Mudirs in the name of a weak Minister. Over toppled the Mustapha Pasha Ministry, and Riaz Pasha became Minister of the Interior to keep an eye on Police officers in general and on me in particular. In a very few

months Riaz Pasha and myself became the best of friends, and, as I have shown above, I apparently had more influence with him than many other English officials secured. I have often wondered what Riaz found in me. What I saw in him was a zealous patriot, who, whatever his faults were, had not the "finesse amounting to duplicity" which, according to such a high authority as Lord Cromer, was one of Nubar Pasha's characteristics.

If Riaz was brought to curse and remained to bless, neither did Mustapha Pasha, who had every right to attribute his fall to my action, show the slightest resentment either then or in later years when we were again associated together in the Interior. Some men can with practice acquire the habits of a gentleman, but Mustapha Pasha was born one; he was always unruffled and courteous under every circumstance, and, though his enemies might describe him as wanting in backbone, I nevertheless always found him ready to express his views unreservedly, and, if his advice generally took the form of compromise, he never hesitated to criticise adversely what he disapproved of, and he seemed to be quite indifferent as to the trouble he might get into should his words be repeated.

I must not forget to mention another Minister I saw a good deal of in those days—I refer to Boutros Pasha Ghali, the Copt, who was afterwards assassinated when Prime Minister. Of all the Egyptian Ministers with whom I have been thrown into contact, he, in my humble opinion, was the most level-headed of the lot. I suppose that he had not the brilliancy, some people called it superficiality, of Nubar Pasha, but he was head and shoulders above him as an administrator and as a man of the world, and there was no subject on which he was not capable of giving excellent advice. A man, too, who could hold his own as he did in his own community must have had brains far above the average. His death was a great loss to Egypt.

In Lord Cromer's book, Boutros Pasha gets but scant notice, whilst several pages are devoted to another Christian Minister, Tigrane Pasha. I must admit that Lord Cromer parades Tigrane Pasha for the sake of demolishing any claim it may be thought he possessed, either as a man of intellect or as an administrator. But, nevertheless, Lord Cromer evidently considered him worthy of a certain amount of powder and shot. Yet there can be no doubt that Tigrane Pasha was never on the same plane as Boutros Pasha, who only became Prime Minister after Lord Cromer had left Egypt.

On more than one occasion, whilst Settle Pasha was on leave and I was acting as Inspector-General, I found myself rather unpleasantly situated as regards the Khedive; in fact, I was the "recalcitrant Police officer" referred to by Lord Cromer in his book, who refused to punish his subordinate officers simply because H.H. imagined that they had not treated him with the respect due to his exalted rank.

I remember one particular occasion, when, having received some letters of complaint and having heard the officer's explanations, I drafted in English what I considered a very diplomatic reply. This letter had to be translated into Arabic, but, to be on the safe side, as I thought, I asked the Under-Secretary of State, who was an Egyptian, kindly to see that the Arabic phraseology was all right. The reply was duly sent, and a few days after I received a summons to Alexandria, where the Khedive was spending the summer. I waited on His Highness, little knowing what was going to happen. The Khedive came forward to meet me, and, without attempting to shake hands, kept me standing whilst he gave me a first-class telling-off for the letter I had written and the Arabic terms I had made use of. I was rather annoyed at being thus talked to after the care I had taken to get my letter correctly translated, and blurted out that the substance of the letter was mine, but, not being sure of the Arabic, I had asked his own Minister to correct the same and could not therefore understand how it could be disrespectful. Immediately I had spoken I realised that I was pleading, "Please, sir, it was not I, but the other boy," and tried to take entire responsibility on myself. But it was too late, and I heard later that the Under-Secretary was in disgrace on my account.

But His Highness was very difficult to please, especially at that time, which was just prior to the Frontier incident. Personally, I could not help liking the Khedive, and never met anyone who so belied his countenance. All the time I was in Egypt I varied from being in extreme favour, when the Khedive would congratulate me on all I had done for Egypt and hold my hand, shaking it repeatedly, to absolute disgrace, when I might attend a reception and no notice would be taken of me whatsoever. But I soon learned to take little notice of these petulant fits.

The Khedive was, as far as his own estates were concerned, a regular slave driver, and expected 9d. for every 6d. he spent, as the Palace entourage knew to their cost. I never could under-

stand how His Highness got into such financial difficulties, but I fancy that he must have been robbed extensively, or perhaps his schemes (and he had many large ones) were too big for the human material he made use of.

In the early days the Khedive took the greatest interest in horse-breeding and had a small stud of racers. He once told me that his great ambition was to run and win with horses he had bred himself. He certainly succeeded in breeding good ones, as Cedar, a horse he bred and gave to Sir Eldon Gorst, was undoubtedly the best horse ever foaled in the country and won many races for Sir Eldon.

But the Khedive soon tired of this amusement, and of late years never went near the races, either in Cairo or in Alexandria.

The Khedive was genuinely very fond of Sir Eldon Gorst, apart from what he thought he could get out of him from a political point of view. Lord Cromer, in his book *Abbas II.*, has told how the Khedive travelled all the way to Wiltshire to bid Sir Eldon good-bye when he was dying, and I can supplement the story by stating that the visit was entirely unexpected. The family were at lunch when the butler suddenly announced, "His Royal Highness, the Khedive of Egypt, is in the stable yard." But I fear there is no question but that the Khedive's good qualities were more than counterbalanced by his untrustworthiness, and not the least evil from which Egypt has been saved is the ex-Khedive Abbas as a ruler in Egypt without a British Agent to control him.

CHAPTER XIII.

Police Headquarters, 1893-1894.

My recollections of this period would not be complete without some references to Mr. Legrelle, the Procureur-General of Belgian nationality. Mr. Legrelle was one of the Belgian judges imported to stiffen the Native Bench, and I fancy that in his own country he must have been what we should term in England a hedgerow lawyer. I imagine the pay offered did not attract many of Belgium's best, and Mr. Legrelle was the only one of them who made any mark, as he took some trouble to learn Arabic and, of course, knew more about French law than most of us. He was an indefatigable worker, and (beyond the fact that he was always smoking the rankest of cigars—I am a non-smoker!—and when excited invariably put up a strong barrage of saliva) he was an interesting man to work with. I speak from experience, as for some time I was a sort of liaison officer between him and the Inspector-General on Police questions. Legrelle was never so happy as when hunting a Mudir, and I remember spending three weeks with him and a Native Juge d'Instruction, who had been delegated to make an inquiry into an accusation against both the Mudir and Commandant of Police of a province. I was watching the case for the Interior and, thanks to my watching ("influence," Legrelle called it), the Mudir got off, much to Legrelle's annoyance.

On another occasion I managed to persuade Legrelle that the guard over the convicts at Tura had not exceeded their powers when they killed thirty convicts who were trying to escape. It required some explanation, but as the convicts were all "lifers," Legrelle did not press for a prosecution as he might have done! But the most delicate case of the lot was the shooting of a well-known brigand, who had (failing capture) been repeatedly convicted for gang robbery and murder. One day the sheikh of a village effected his arrest and came to report the fact to the English inspector, who was sleeping at the time. The inspector

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on hearing the news merely remarked, "I will see him in the morning, but why did you take him alive?" The sheikh promptly had the man shot, and reported the next morning that he was shot whilst trying to escape!

Unfortunately, the Parquet representative, who held the inquiry into the man's death, found several bullet wounds in the man's chest, which hardly confirmed the running-away story! Legrelle insisted on a prosecution of the sheikh for manslaughter or murder. Unofficially I knew the true facts of the case, and I fancy Legrelle did too, and was hoping to get the English inspector implicated. The sheikh could not see why he should be prosecuted. He had merely removed a brigand who had been repeatedly sentenced to death and, as he took it, by order of the superior Police officer. However, with the approval of the Minister, I persuaded the sheikh it was all a matter of formality to satisfy justice. Further, if convicted we would get him pardoned at once. The sheikh was duly convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, without pleading that he acted on superior authority. I personally took him to the prison in a cab and arranged that he should sleep in the office that night, and the next day I obtained his pardon and drove away with him in triumph. Thus was justice satisfied, but I never told the sheikh that I knew all the true facts.

I very nearly persuaded Legrelle to modify the system of writing *procés-verbaux* in criminal inquiries and adopt the Indian procedure. But, in the absence of any very strong support by Sir John Scott, I failed to carry my point, and the French system still holds good. Later I propose to deal more fully with this question.

I have shown how Kitchener Pasha succeeded in putting the village police on a much more satisfactory footing. I will now describe how I made them an armed force and, incidentally, scored off Kitchener Pasha, who was then Sirdar of the Egyptian Army. I was very much pleased with myself at the time, as no one had before been known to get the better of the Sirdar, who was, as Lord Cromer has stated, a great economist in official matters and who never lost an opportunity of making a good bargain.

It was during the summer, when all the chiefs were away and deputies like myself carried on, that I learned that there was a considerable trade in old guns of sorts which were being pur-

chased for the newly organised gaffirs (village police). It struck me that it was an excellent opportunity to make use of a lot of old Remington rifles lately withdrawn from the Army. I accordingly requisitioned the Army authorities for 10,000 rifles for Police purposes, and to my surprise was told that I might have them, and no payment was asked. My next move was a circular letter to the Mudirs offering to *lend* these rifles to the gaffirs on their depositing £1 for each weapon to cover loss or sale, the money to be returned in case of resignation or dismissal.

In a month the rifles were all issued, and the Inspector-General of Police had £10,000 to his credit in the bank!

The Army authorities then got wind of my little swindle and demanded the £10,000. I replied that the money was the gaffirs' and only held in deposit. Shortly after Kitchener Pasha returned from leave and, as I expected, paid me a visit, when the following conversation took place :—

KITCHENER PASHA : I say, Coles, what about those rifles you obtained from the Army and sold ?

COLES : I have not sold any rifles ; only issued them against a deposit.

KITCHENER PASHA : Oh, that is all rubbish ; but I tell you what I will do. You give the Army £5,000 and the Police may keep £5,000.

COLES : Sorry, but it cannot possibly be done, as the rifles may be recalled at any time.

KITCHENER PASHA : Very well, then, I shall recall the rifles!

But the rifles were never recalled, and for years the interest of the £10,000 paid for the ammunition furnished to the gaffirs.

Of course, the whole transaction was highly irregular and open to abuse, in fact was abused later—so I was told—when a steamer for the use of the Interior was purchased from the fund, but I am glad to say not by the Inspector-General of Police or by myself.

It was in 1892 that Kitchener Pasha left the Police, and in 1894 that the break-up came and the Inspector-General made way for an Adviser. I had felt that something was coming, as some months previously a certain Schaffer Bey had produced a Memorandum on Police Reform which was certainly not his own composition. I had been given the memo. to report on, and I flatter myself that I succeeded in demolishing it. I also suggested to Settle Pasha that, lest Schaffer Bey should be encouraged to write

any more memos. on Police Reform, he and his department (Slavery) had better be separated from the Police. This was done, though Lord Cromer, so I was told, considered it a very high-handed proceeding.

Schaffer Bey, who was connected with Nubar Pasha by marriage, was a great friend of Mr. Gorst (since Sir Eldon Gorst), and was also thought a great deal of at the Agency (though why, I could never understand), so much so that he was subsequently proposed as Governor of Crete at Lord Cromer's suggestion. However, the Turks would not have him, so the proposal came to nothing.

But Nubar Pasha was not to be so easily balked over the Police question, and by flattering Settle Pasha he succeeded in persuading him to agree to the scheme of an Adviser. I repeatedly warned Settle Pasha, and was as often assured that all Police interests would be safeguarded. However, one fine morning we heard that the post of Inspector-General had been abolished and Mr. Gorst, who was at the time Under-Secretary of Finance, had been appointed Adviser at the Interior.

Settle Pasha (now Sir Henry Settle) only realised when it was too late what a cat's-paw Nubar Pasha had made of him. It was said that he was offered and refused a C.M.G. as compensation for not being made Adviser, but this I cannot vouch for; anyhow, he left the Police and Egypt.

It was thus that Nubar Pasha carried out what for years he had been trying to accomplish. But he did not long enjoy his victory. Lord Cromer, in his book on Egypt, quotes a saying of Nubar's, "L'Anglais est très naïf, mais lorsqu'on pense qu'on l'a trompé, tout d'un coup il se tourne et vous donne un terrible coup de pied quelque part." Nubar Pasha thought that he had bested Lord Cromer in the bargain he made, but, sure enough, the "terrible coup de pied" duly followed, and when Nubar Pasha found out what he had saddled himself with he retired, and shortly afterwards died in Paris.

The passing of the Inspector-General offers a favourable opportunity of discussing this much vexed question of Police policy as a whole. But as I was still for a few more years to be connected with the Police, as Commandant Cairo City, I had better perhaps reserve what I have to say till I finally quitted the Department.

CHAPTER XIV.

Cairo City Police, 1894–1897.

I had learned by experience that any upheaval in Police organisation meant for me personally a move. After the Clifford Lloyd episode, Baker Pasha had moved me to Cairo. On Baker Pasha's death I was banished to Alexandria, to be recalled again by Kitchener Pasha. I never quite made up my mind whether these intervals of favour and distrust were to be looked on as complimentary or otherwise; anyhow, I presume that I was not considered a negligible quantity! I fancy, in the agreement come to with Nubar Pasha, it was determined that the new organisation at the Interior should at all events be free from my contaminating influence!!

I was not, therefore, altogether surprised when Gorst sent for me and told me that the Khedive wished me to be made head of the Slavery Department (a sort of refuge for the destitute), but that he (Gorst) had decided to make me Commandant of Police in Cairo City. I could see from Gorst's manner that he was ashamed of treating me in the way he was doing, so, determined to get all I could out of him whilst he was in this particular frame of mind, I left the interview with certain pecuniary perquisites, and with the assurance that I should be supported and have practically a free hand as regards any proposals I might make to put the City Police of Cairo on a more independent footing than the Commandant had hitherto enjoyed. I may add that from that moment to the day of his death I always found Mr. Gorst (Sir Eldon, as he soon after became) a good friend and constant supporter.

What I must admit I did not like was the drop in the official hierarchy, as I had once more to deal with Governors where I had been working with Ministers. But here again I was exceptionally lucky, as Maher Pasha was appointed Governor, being recalled for the purpose from Port Said, whither he had been banished in disgrace by Lord Cromer after the Frontier incident,

as he was supposed to have been the Khedive's chief instigator. Possibly this was part of the bargain with His Highness at my not being relegated to the Slavery Department, but I have no doubt the new Governor got his instructions from the Khedive how to keep me in order. If such was the case, the Khedive must have been bitterly disappointed, as I never met a more intelligent Egyptian or better administrator than Maher Pasha, and we mutually relied on each other for advice and support.

I do not think I ever worked harder than I did the next three years that I remained in Cairo, and I found my work most interesting. Unlike my experience when I first went to Alexandria, I had to bear the full brunt of responsibility as well as of the hostile criticism from the Palace Party, who lost no opportunity of setting pitfalls to catch me.

I found plenty to do in the matter of reforming the organisation and putting a stop to abuses which had been allowed to continue. For instance, nearly 200 men were removed from Consuls General and from other officials, and formed a welcome addition to the force for beat duty. This beat duty had to be mapped out and men kept to their own beats, a system which had been hitherto neglected.

I had to take over also the Army guards to allow of the battalion in Cairo taking part in the Expedition to Khartoum. One of His Highness's chief amusements in this connection was to watch with field-glasses my officers relieving the Palace guard and then send for me and tell me of their want of smartness in military details.

The police courts were hopelessly in arrears, there being over 5,000 contravention cases pending disposal in one court alone. To meet this situation, the "Markez" Magistrate in the City was created at my suggestion by Sir John Scott. I arranged, too, that all serious crime should be dealt with by a special department instead of by the station officers, and there was a marked improvement in detection of crime in consequence.

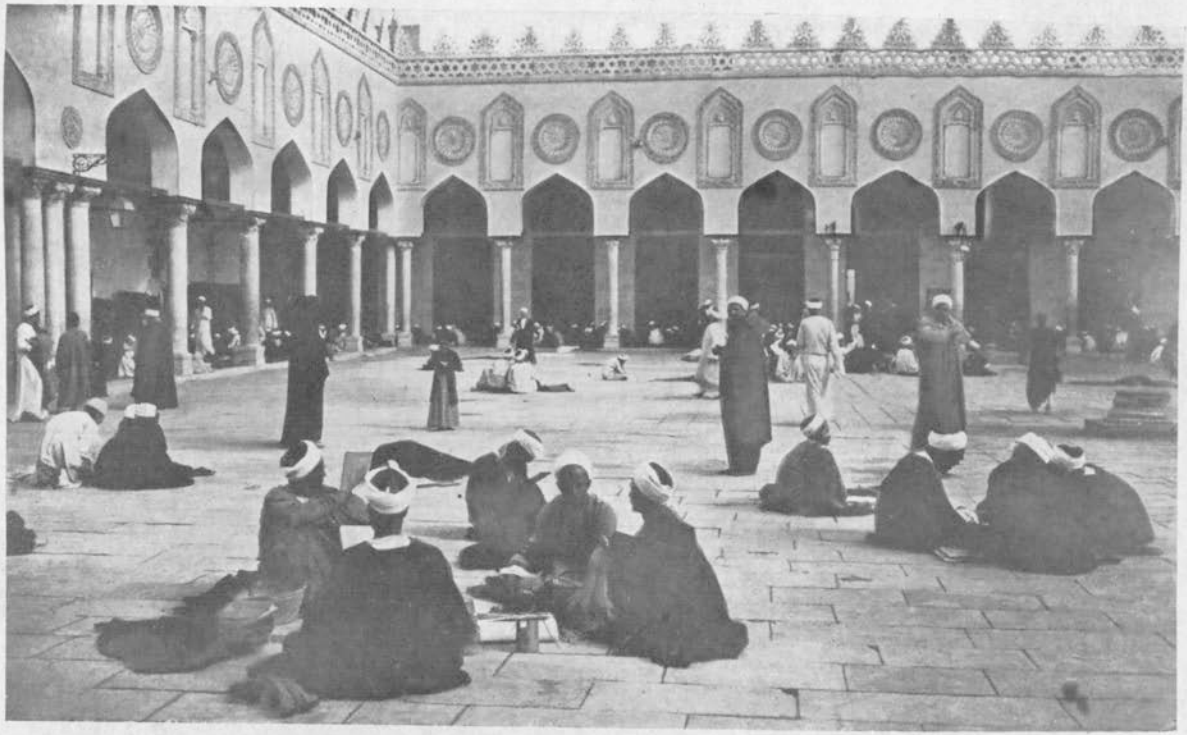
The fire brigade had to be reorganised, as up to that date no hydrants had been supplied and water was provided for the engines by mule carts; in consequence of which the confusion at fires can be imagined, more especially as there were usually four or five a week. In later years, when I attended the displays given by my successor, I had every reason to be proud of my early efforts to reorganise the fire brigade. Supervision of

traffic and cruelty to animals were delegated to a special officer, and the stables of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals bore ample testimony to the need thereof. It is interesting to recall that the Hon. Arthur Stanley, of repute in connection with the Red Cross Association, was Secretary of the S.P.C.A. in Cairo at that time.

But perhaps the reform which produced the greatest result was the reorganisation of the gaffir system. I was repeatedly warned not to make any change in this system, as the Sheikh of Gaffirs was responsible and something terrible was likely to occur if I interfered in any way. But when my inquiries showed me that, of the gaffir cess collected, about £5,000 a year was unaccounted for, I came to the conclusion that interference was necessary and I must chance the result. Following the system that had been introduced in the provinces, I commenced by collecting the money and giving each householder a receipt. I soon found that I had funds enough to double the pay of each night-watchman and provide greatcoats and whistles besides, and there was no lack of recruits. Thus the Gaffir Fund, which now figures in the Egyptian Budget as "Revenue," was created.

The supervision of public establishments caused endless trouble, as, although gambling was strictly forbidden, it was carried on *sub rosa* in many, and we were constantly raiding. But as in nearly every case we had first to obtain consular assistance our failures were frequent.

One year the proprietor of the well-known Ghizereh Casino arranged gambling tables as an extra attraction. I was approached to see if I could be squared, as, so it was pointed out, it was only the tourists who lost their money! I assured the proprietor that personally I should enjoy an occasional flutter, but in my official capacity I must stop it if I could. I knew the gambling went on and one night raided the place, but my movements had been watched and the draw was a blank. However, I do not think that the manager quite liked the "au revoir" I bid him at parting. A short time after I was more successful and made quite a bag of gold and counters. I am afraid that I kept the counters as the initials on them are not unlike my own, and in games at home I pretend they were made expressly for me! I do not think the proprietor bore me any malice, as a year or so after, when I was no longer in the Police, I was playing bridge at San Stefano when the same manager approached me and whispered,



Bons Fils

THE EL AZHAR MOSQUE, CAIRO

"We are going to play baccarat; is it all right?" I told him, "Quite, as far as I am concerned, as it is no longer my job to stop you. I will see that you are properly fed if imprisoned, that is all!"

There was one rather disagreeable incident which occurred whilst I was Commandant in Cairo when fire-arms had to be used in the suppression of a riot, and one man lost his life, I fear at my hands. It was during a cholera epidemic, and the Public Health people had constantly to be calling on the police to protect their agents whilst disinfecting. There was a good deal of opposition to the sanitary precautions which had to be taken, and one day something in the shape of a riot occurred in Old Cairo. I had no difficulty in suppressing this particular riot, and as I thought the Public Health officers were rather to blame, only one or two of the ringleaders were arrested. This did not please the Public Health authorities, and I was accused of not taking the necessary action for their protection.

About a week after another disturbance occurred, and as I was not in my office at the time the Governor and my deputy were called on for assistance. This time the trouble was with the students of the El Azhar Mosque, who come from all parts of the Mohammedan world and are very fanatical. Several cases of cholera had occurred within the Mosque in the students' quarters, and a thorough disinfection was necessary. To this the students had objected, and they had rather roughly handled the Public Health people. The Governor and my deputy were treated even worse, and I received a telephone message for further help.

I happened to be at the Ministry at the time, and picking up as many armed police as I could get hold of in barracks I arrived on the scene to find my deputy with his head cut open and the Governor covered with mud. The students had barricaded the door and there was a crowd of some thousands watching the result outside. I felt that the situation was critical, but endeavoured to break open the door with the police at my disposal, warning the students, who were stoning us from the roof of the gateway, that unless they desisted I would fire. My warning had no effect, and taking a rifle from one of the men, I fired at a student in the act of throwing a big stone on the police below. The police then, also, without orders, fired three or four shots through the gateway. The effect was instantaneous, and there was a general stampede. When we forced the gate, not a

student was to be seen, but subsequently, one wounded man was found, and the man over the gateway was also discovered dead, shot through the head.

I believe my action in firing was a good deal criticised, but if I had not done so there was every chance of many of us being killed, as both inside and out the mob were very angry, and I kept hearing cries of "You English, you Christian ——." Anyhow, that is the view I took of the situation, and my action was supported by the authorities, though the fact that the building forced was the world-renowned El Azhar made the question rather a delicate one. Napoleon and myself are, according to my friends, the only two who have ever dared to commit such a sacrilege! Subsequently an action was brought against me personally in the Mixed Tribunals for £1,000 damages, but was refused a hearing by the Courts.

I cannot say if it was for my action in this particular case or for service generally, but shortly after I was surprised to get a wire from Lord Salisbury, informing me that His Majesty had been pleased to confer on me the order of a C.M.G. I am afraid I was flattered at being selected for this honour, but at the same time, as an old Indian official, I could not help reflecting how easily it had been gained compared with a C.S.I. How many able administrators in India annually render the State far more valuable services than I had and remain unrecognised? Personally I would rather be rewarded with a C.S.I. than even a C.B. Yet, as Imperial Orders, the Bath takes precedence of the Michael and George, and the Michael and George of the Star of India. I have often thought that as a reward of true merit a C.S.I. should rank first.

Having obtained my C.M.G. I considered that the least I could do was to go to the Agency and thank Lord Cromer. Unfortunately I found His Lordship very busy with Sir Eldon Gorst, and it was with difficulty I was allowed to explain the object of my visit. However, when Lord Cromer heard my news, he very kindly said, "I have on more than one occasion sent in your name, and I am very glad your services have been recognised. Good morning!"

I know of no official with the ability of bringing an interview to a close quicker than Lord Cromer. Whenever I had any special request to make, it was always even money that the extended hand and the "Good morning" of his good-bye would be heard

before one's case could be stated. An officer in the Egyptian Army told me that during the Soudan Expedition it was part of his duty to see Lord Cromer daily with Lord Kitchener's wire reporting progress. As a rule he was listened to without comment and dismissed with the usual "Good morning," but one day, having some quite important news to tell, he thought it was a good opportunity to get a bit back. He accordingly gabbled out the wire, and without pausing got up and said "Good morning." Lord Cromer laughed and said, "You have scored off me all right; sit down, I have something to say."

In this respect Lord Kitchener was the opposite to Lord Cromer. He would get up and walk about the room arguing a proposal with you, impress you with the idea that your suggestion was going to be acted on, and then as likely as not tell you that some preconceived idea of his own was the right one, a scheme which you fondly imagined would not stand after the arguments you had brought to bear! I very soon learned, too, that it was quite hopeless to expect Lord Kitchener to read anything, type it never so wisely. "What is this effusion you have sent me? You cannot expect me to read it," was the remark you were generally met with when sent for to explain your views; and as for annual reports, they were quite superfluous.

Lord Cromer, on the other hand (I am, of course, speaking from my own experience), would read anything even if he would not listen to much. Many a long memo. have I unloaded on him on reform in judicial procedure, and judging from the answers received, they were not left unread, though naturally the Judicial Adviser's views were usually upheld.

But to return to police subjects, I do not think anyone who has not served in the Cairo City Police can have any idea of the amount of trouble His Highness, the ex-Khedive, gave when in residence. I suppose the smaller the potentate the more he expects in the way of homage from his subjects, and whenever His Highness took his airings in or near Cairo the reserve in barracks had always to be turned out to man the streets and keep the traffic clear. We used to get information by telephone when the Khedive left his palace at Koubeh and the route to be followed, and if there was any hitch in the proceedings I was certain to hear of it next morning. I happened to be Commandant of Cairo when His Highness's sisters were married and had personally to escort each bride from the Palace to her new residence, which

meant a ride of some six miles; and, though everything went off according to programme, I never even received a "Thank you" from His Highness, much less a memento in the shape of a pearl pin!

It also fell to my lot to organise the funeral procession when the late Khedive Ishmail was buried in Cairo, the body having been brought from Constantinople. It was the biggest thing in the way of processions I have ever seen or shall ever be likely to see. As one of the Ministers remarked to me, "Under other circumstances Ishmail Pasha would have been much flattered at his reception."

The Khedive's official arrivals and departures, too, caused endless trouble. Everyone of any importance, other than the Consuls-General, was supposed to be present at the station, and to prevent confusion barriers were erected for the several categories of rank, and His Highness visited each in turn. After the ceremony there was a general scramble for the carriages outside, and the police were kept very busy with the traffic and with seeing that the more important personages were not delayed. All very petty but very trying.

But perhaps the State Balls at Abdin Palace required even greater care, as the Consuls-General attended and exacted all the privileges of their respective sovereigns, excepting the royal salute. The arrangement of a private entry was not difficult, but it was not so easy to see that the Consuls-General were not interfered with *en route*, and if the Consul-General's Cowass was not recognised and his carriage held up, there was trouble the next morning. A good deal, of course, depended on the temperament of each particular Consul-General, but one usually found that the "Great Powers," as they were termed, required very special treatment. On one occasion I remember having to put on full uniform and go and apologise to the German representative for some alleged want of courtesy on the part of one of my traffic officers. It was either that or a *casus belli* against Egypt, judging from the correspondence. It was all very amusing, as I knew the Consul-General quite well in private life, and directly I had duly clicked my heels and made my official apology he became the private gentleman again.

But, take it all round, I know of no more interesting job than that of the Commandant of Police in Cairo. Few weeks passed without an "incident" of some sort, and to be called on to do

the right thing at the right moment was quite a different matter from being wise after the event, which fell to one's lot at the headquarters control. Probably most of these early difficulties have now disappeared, as many years of working have created precedents to guide both officers and men. One thing I am sure of: there is no longer the opposition to reform which existed in the early days, and everyone appreciates the good order which exists in Cairo, Alexandria and Port Said. Sir Auckland Colvin testifies to the organisation of the cities comparing favourably with that of the provinces, and he attributes it to the influence of the police officers brought from India. If Sir Auckland Colvin had made further enquiries he would have found that no Indian officer with the exception of myself remained more than a few months in the country. I do not, for a moment, mean to imply that the officers who have succeeded me in Cairo and Alexandria have not had their share in this happy state of affairs, but I do maintain that if Indian precedents had been followed in the provinces as well as in the cities there would now be a very different story to tell of public security in general.

My police service ended with my appointment to the Prisons Department, and my subordinates took the opportunity of testifying their " esteem and affection " by presenting me with a silver bowl. This put me in rather a difficult position, as I hoped that many would still be associated with me in the future, as they actually were, and I felt I must refuse the gift. My refusal, I fear, was misunderstood and hurt the feelings of not a few. However, the bowl was sold by auction and the proceeds divided amongst the subscribers. For some reason the inscription on the bowl was not erased, and some years after a man I knew found my bowl on the table of a landed proprietor in the provinces with whom he was dining. My friend told me that his host was very pleased with the bowl, especially with the inscription ! ! Query, what ought I to have done ?

What I did, was to offer to purchase the bowl of the sheikh, who refused to sell but wanted to give it to me. This I would not agree to, but told my friend that when he was ready to sell I was ready to purchase. I heard no more till fifteen years after, when, the week before I was leaving Egypt for good, the Egyptian gentleman appeared in my office with the bowl. " Here is your bowl; I have kept it for you all these years, you must now accept it." I felt I could no longer refuse, but on my return to England

I purchased a gold Benson's watch of rather more value than the bowl and sent it to my friend. Inside the lid I had inscribed, " From Coles Pasha. A souvenir of a silver bowl."

From the letter I received my watch was much appreciated. So after seventeen years the bowl reached the person for whom it was originally intended. If I was wrong in the first instance the final solution was I hope correct

CHAPTER XV.

Mr. Clifford Lloyd.

It was in the year 1897 that my connection with the Police came to an end, when I was offered and accepted the post of Inspector-General of Prisons. In the preceding chapters I have refrained from discussing the Egyptian Police question as a whole, but my leaving the Department appears to offer a favourable opportunity for airing my views on a controversy which, according to Lord Cromer, has lasted somewhat longer than the siege of Troy, and which was not finally settled even when his Lordship left Egypt. It may be said that a problem which still remains unsolved after thirty-five years is likely to continue so to all eternity, yet I am bold enough to assert that, had the said problem been properly handled from the commencement, thirty-five weeks and not thirty-five years would have sufficed to put the whole matter on a proper footing.

Unfortunately, in the early days, Lord Cromer was too fully occupied with the Soudan and with fiscal questions to give proper attention to the affairs of the Interior and of Justice. Mr. Clifford Lloyd and Sir Raymond West were each sacrificed in turn, and Nubar Pasha remained master of the situation; at least, that is how I read Lord Cromer's own record of the events of 1884–85. When eventually Lord Cromer was freer and able to devote more attention to these two Ministries (and, may I also add? was more sure of a backing from the Foreign Office), all sorts of vested interests and difficulties had arisen which at first were non-existent. Again, if I may venture to criticise, the personal element was allowed to play too important a part in the various reorganisations of the Police, and this was so even in what was hoped would prove the final settlement when the Inspector-General had to make way for Sir Eldon Gorst as Adviser.

I fear that it is beyond my power fully to explain all the details of this Police question in a single chapter, neither do I imagine

that there are many still living who would take sufficient interest in the subject to read such a chapter; but I shall nevertheless endeavour to clear up some of the misconceptions under which other writers, notably Lord Milner and Sir Auckland Colvin, have laboured owing to an incomplete knowledge of all the facts. In short, I decline to accept a judgment in default, and am going to state the case from Mr. Lloyd's and the Police point of view, a plea which, as far as I know, has never yet been heard.

The better to appreciate the problem, let us for a moment consider how the Egyptian Government maintained public security prior to the Occupation. It is generally supposed that the Mudir was all in all, being police officer, prosecutor and judge in his own cause. Further, whether it was to raise revenue, extort evidence or inflict punishment on evil-doers, the courbash was the one and only method of rule. This picture is fairly correct, but at the same time Courts were in existence which pronounced judgments in cases sent to them by the Mudir.

But there was no question as to the Mudirs' prestige, which was undoubtedly owing to their powers of arrest and imprisonment for indefinite periods without any trial. It was also open to a Mudir to refuse to proceed with a case, either by himself inflicting a summary punishment in the shape of a flogging, or releasing the accused for reasons not altogether apparent! The Mudir was, in fact, a glorified Parquet (Public Prosecutor) with only his own sweet will and the courbash to guide him.

When Lord Dufferin insisted on the then Minister of the Interior issuing a circular abolishing the use of the courbash, it was, as Lord Cromer aptly described it, very like throwing a man into a river and telling him to make for the bank without first teaching him to swim! The Mudir without his courbash had every chance of going under; but, to make assurance doubly sure, the Minister of Justice unearthed and promulgated at about the same time the French Penal and Procedure Codes, which had been translated into Arabic and pigeon-holed some years before during Nubar Pasha's last tenure of office. These Codes ignored the Mudir entirely, making the Procureur-General and the Parquet the controllers of the Police and the Juge d'Instruction the committing magistrate.

This was the state of affairs when Mr. Clifford Lloyd arrived on the scene, but so far the new Codes were more or less in abeyance for want of personnel, whilst the gendarmerie officers,

though appointed, had no means of knowing what was taking place or of controlling the use of the courbash by the Mudirs and their myrmidons.

Mr. Clifford Lloyd rightly insisted that, as the British were in occupation, his Majesty's representatives must be kept informed of what was going on in the country. At the same time he recognised that the French Procedure Code deprived Mudirs of all power, and unless there was to be a general upheaval some means must be found to connect the Mudirs with the Judiciary. Mr. Lloyd quickly made up his mind, and whilst Sir Benson Maxwell was collecting his personnel for the Tribunals and Parquet, the Mudirs' police officers (mamurs-el-zabt) were amalgamated with the gendarmerie, and by the end of the year 1883 the decree creating a constabulary was approved and passed.

There was very little opposition at first, as I do not think Cherif Pasha, who was Prime Minister, realised that the provisions of the Police decree clashed with the French procedure. It was only, too, when the newly created constabulary commenced to report crime to their superior officers as well as to the Mudirs that the latter, finding that they were going to be controlled, commenced complaining of dual responsibility in the Provinces. Sir Benson Maxwell also began to inquire where the Parquet came in under Mr. Lloyd's scheme.

Early in 1884 Nubar Pasha was again the Prime Minister and saw at once that Mr. Lloyd was the strong man who was going to upset the Parquet's control over the Police even if he did not wreck the Codes, Nubar Pasha's pet project. He therefore encouraged Sir Benson Maxwell in his quarrel with Mr. Lloyd, and also stirred up the Mudirs to protest against the English Inspectors of Police. It was useless for Mr. Lloyd to tell the Mudirs that he was championing their cause, as under his scheme they would still have a large amount of control, whereas under the French Code they were not recognised. The Mudirs argued that, so far, the Parquet were hardly created whilst the superior police officers were very apparent. "Let us get rid of the police control; we can deal with the Parquet question when it arises," was undoubtedly the view they took of the matter.

As stated, Lord Cromer was too fully occupied with fiscal questions and with General Gordon's relief from Khartoum to go very deeply into the merits of the case or the principle involved. It was a much simpler way to look upon the whole affair as a

quarrel between two of the senior officers. "If they cannot work together let them both go," was an easy solution.

But after all, the issue raised by Mr. Lloyd was a simple one to decide. It amounted to this. After generations of personal government were the Mudirs essential to the administration of justice? Mr. Lloyd argued that to divorce them entirely from the Judiciary was a danger to public security. It was, further, absurd for Nubar Pasha to talk of the Mudirs' prestige—even if the Deputy Inspector-Generals of Police were withdrawn—when the youngest *substitut* of the Parquet possessed powers under the French Code denied to the Mudirs. Sir Benson Maxwell, on the other hand, maintained (see his note quoted by Lord Cromer in his book) that there was no such thing as a Mudir's prestige, it was only the fear of the courbash. Remove this fear and the Mudir was powerless for good or evil.

Mr. Clifford Lloyd had never been in India, or he would have quoted the Indian precedent where "some of the best intellects of the day" (as Lord Cromer described them) had drafted Codes especially adapted for an Eastern country, and where the Executive have for years, to everyone's advantage, assisted the Judiciary in the administration of criminal law.

In 1884 all that was necessary was to adopt the Indian Procedure Code *en bloc*. It is quite true that the young Egyptians who had any legal training were ignorant of the Indian Code, but of the early Judiciary how many could boast of any legal training? Not more than 25 per cent. It was surely as easy to teach the remaining 75 per cent. the simple procedure of the Indian Courts as to teach them the elaborate provisions of the French Codes? But even assuming that the objections to this course were insuperable, which I do not for a moment admit, and that it was decided that the French Codes, once promulgated, must stand—still, with a little give and take on the part of the Ministry of Justice (Sir Benson Maxwell), the Mudirs and their Nazirs could have been woven into the Parquet scheme and have become the connecting link between the French system of Justice and the English Police. But as Lord Cromer refused to move, there was no one else of sufficient authority to insist on this course being adopted.

Sir Auckland Colvin, in his book *The Making of Modern Egypt*, when discussing this Police question implies that, had the Mudirs been left in control, as the district magistrates in India, all

would have been well. At the risk of wearying my readers I fear, therefore, that I must explain fully Mr. Lloyd's constabulary scheme and show to what extent under that scheme the control was still left in the hand of the Mudirs. Commencing from the bottom of the ladder there was the Merkaz police station, as in India, receiving reports from the village headman (omdeh). These first information reports were communicated (*a*) to the Parquet, (*b*) to the Inspector or, as called, Commandant of Police of the province or district. The Commandant of Police in turn communicated the more serious cases (*a*) to the Mudir, (*b*) to the Deputy Inspector-General, of whom there were in all three for the whole of Egypt. Subsequently (*a*) the statements of complaint and of the witnesses (*procès-verbal*) went to the Parquet and (*b*) a detailed report, showing result of inquiry, to the Commandant. In serious cases these detailed reports were repeated by the Commandants (*a*) to Mudirs, (*b*) to Deputy Inspector-Generals. The Mudirs communicated direct with the Minister, and pending instructions from superior authority could take any action thought necessary. The distribution of the force was carried out in consultation with the Mudirs, who also had certain disciplinary powers, such as suspension of officers; N.C.O.'s and men were promoted by the Deputy Inspector-Generals; officers were promoted by the Inspector-General, as there was one graded list for the whole of Egypt; but Mudirs' recommendations received every consideration. Similarly, officers were transferred from one province to another by the Inspector-General, but Mudirs' special requests for the removal or retention of an officer were not ignored. In fact, the general control exercised by Mudirs was practically the same as that exercised by the district magistrates in India. As far as I know, the only difference was that duplicate reports were sent to superior police authority instead of being sent through the Mudir to the said authority. The men, too, being conscripts, had to be dealt with by courts-martial and not merely enrolled and dismissed by the superintendent of police, as in the India of my day.

This was briefly the organisation, and, looking back at it now after more than thirty years have elapsed (and I have seen experiments tried by many other reformers), I can without hesitation say that it was the best that could be devised, presuming always that some control over the Mudirs' action was necessary. I may add that I had nothing to do with the scheme beyond advising

Mr. Lloyd of the police organisation at the time in force in India. The drafting of the decree and amalgamation of Mudirs' police and the gendarmerie was entirely Mr. Lloyd's own work, assisted by an officer (Mr. Gibbons) of the Irish Constabulary, whom Mr. Lloyd had known in Ireland. I can claim, therefore, that I am absolutely without bias in the matter.

The real trouble was that neither the Ministers of the day nor the Mudirs knew what a civilised form of government meant or what the term "General Control" signified, and Mr. Lloyd was not left long enough in the Interior to teach them. A district magistrate in India once described himself to me as "a humble greaser of wheels." I should say, *en passant*, that he was anything but humble and was a first-class administrator, but his success lay in the fact that he recognised that as head of the district his duties were limited to general supervision of his subordinates and did not extend to active participation in every executive branch under his control. He was the channel of communication between the experts above and below him, and he confined himself to seeing that orders did not clash and quarrels (official) were quickly suppressed. Of course, an Egyptian Mudir of the early 'eighties could not be expected to be on the same plane as an Indian civilian, but their duties were nevertheless the same, though the one controlled men and the other monkeys, so to speak!

It may be asked: If the Mudirs were to exercise general supervision only, what was there to prevent them exercising this supervision over both Parquet and Police? Unfortunately, the French Codes do not recognise individuals, be they Mudirs or senior Police officers. The term Parquet includes all Public Prosecutors and the Parquet has absolute control over all "Police Judiciaires," of whom the Mudir is one. Directly a young *substitut* of the Parquet intervenes all have to carry out his orders, be they Mudirs or senior Police officers.

Again, the control exercised by the Parquet in Egypt differs entirely from the magistrates' control in India, and is such an important consideration in this Police problem that this chapter can hardly be completed without some reference thereto. At the same time it is so intimately connected with the administration of criminal justice in general that I had better deal with it in a separate chapter. I will, therefore, leave it for the moment and pass to the various reorganisations the long-suffering Police Department underwent till it finally disappeared.

CHAPTER XVI.

Police, Parquet and Interior.

After the ill-fated Suakin expedition, Baker Pasha proceeded to England on sick leave, and Mr. Lloyd having been got rid of, Nubar Pasha thought it a good opportunity to draw up a Police scheme of his own! I am afraid that he was assisted by some of the Headquarters' staff, but others, seeing what was happening, cabled to Baker Pasha to return. One fine morning Baker Pasha walked into his office quite unexpectedly, and Nubar Pasha's little plot was for the time being frustrated. Nubar Pasha was still further disappointed when he found that, with the exception of the Police Depot, Baker Pasha adopted Mr. Lloyd's organisation as it stood, with the slight variation that the Police officials were given again Arabic titles of rank instead of the Irish names of "Inspector" and "Head Constable" introduced by Mr. Lloyd.

I mention this as it is generally supposed (see Sir Auckland Colvin's *Making of Modern Egypt*) that Baker Pasha on his return began once more to play at soldiers to the detriment of police work proper. I do not know where Sir Auckland Colvin obtained his information, but, to show what an absurd accusation that was, I have only to point out that three out of the four Deputies were civilians and the fourth had ceased to soldier for years. Was it likely that we should endeavour to turn the Police force into an army? It is true that Baker Pasha created a Black reserve, but the provincial police were left entirely in our hands. The trouble was that Arabi's army had been disbanded, and, though passing as harmless peasants by day, many became robbers or brigands by night. The villagers refusing to give information, the Police officers had not sufficient influence at first to obtain the evidence to break up these gangs. If we failed it certainly was not owing to Baker Pasha's soldiering. Nubar Pasha was too wise to try a fall with Baker Pasha as he had with Mr. Lloyd, and, the Mudirs being fully occupied with their Brigandage

Commissions, nothing more was heard of Police reorganisation for the next few years.

With Baker Pasha's death at the close of 1887 Nubar Pasha had once more an opportunity of raising the Police question. Unfortunately there was no strong man ready to step into Baker Pasha's shoes, and Colonel Chermside (now Sir Herbert Chermside) refusing the post, Nubar Pasha succeeded in breaking up the Police divisions. A sort of compromise was effected as regards the post of Inspector-General, as it became a *Chef de Bureau* under the Minister, being designated in English "Chief of the Public Security Division." The Senior Deputy Inspector-General was appointed to this post, and the other two Deputies were relieved of all executive power and had no very defined duty except to keep away from Cairo, the Minister himself dealing direct with the Mudirs, and the Commandants in the provinces being to the Mudir much the same as the Chief of the Public Security Division was to the Minister.

I think it is Lord Milner who describes this as a victory for Lord Cromer. If it was, it was of a very Pyrrhic description. The next three years saw the Police at its lowest ebb. A very energetic Belgian had succeeded the Egyptian Procureur-Général, the Brigandage Commissions were abolished, and Riaz Pasha, who had succeeded Nubar Pasha, found the Parquet combination too strong for the Interior staff of police. In the interim Sir Raymond West had come and gone. He had been brought from India in 1887 and, like Mr. Lloyd, quickly realised that the Codes were quite unsuited to the country. Rather than tinker at these Codes Sir Raymond West spent the whole year he was in Egypt drafting a new law. This Nubar Pasha would not accept, and finding that he was not supported, Sir Raymond West, like Moses of old, threw his Code down in disgust, and returned to India.

All this time the Courts were getting hopelessly in arrears and crime was rampant in the country. At length, in 1891, Lord Cromer saw that, unless he took action, the general upheaval predicted by Mr. Lloyd was likely to take place; so Mr. Scott (afterwards Sir John Scott) was brought from India to reorganise the Courts, and Kitchener Pasha (as he then was) was asked to try his hand on the Police.

If Kitchener Pasha did not re-establish the Police Deputies and their three divisions he certainly had no scruples about employing Englishmen in the provinces, as he created half a dozen

inspectorates with a resident English inspector in each. Further, seeing that the Mudirs, *having so many irons in the fire*, could not give sufficient individual attention to public security matters, he resuscitated the Commandants of Police and made them the responsible police authority in each Mudirieh, the Mudir only exercising general supervision. In the Merkaz the officer in charge of the police station became the sole police authority, following Mr. Lloyd's and the Indian precedent.

I do not know to what extent Kitchener Pasha was influenced by the personnel at his disposal in organising the Police Headquarters into bureaux each in charge of an ex-Deputy-Inspector-General, rather than police divisions as Mr. Lloyd had done, but I imagine (from what I learned in after years) that centralisation under his personal control always appealed more to Kitchener Pasha than separate commands.

In every other respect Mr. Lloyd's organisation was followed. As stated too, in a previous chapter, the village police were reorganised and put on an entirely different footing, being regularly paid, amongst other things. But Kitchener Pasha soon realised that although he might create a Criminal Investigation Section, with a special officer in charge, there was little the officer could do beyond the collection of statistics, as the dossiers in each case went direct to the Parquet. Kitchener Pasha tried to get round the Parquet, as it were, by getting a certain number of police officers appointed as *Juges d'Instruction*, but the Parquet took care that "instructions" drawn up by police officers should not find favour with the Tribunals, and after Kitchener Pasha was appointed Sirdar the police officer *Juge d'Instruction* was allowed to disappear.

When Settle Pasha (now Sir Henry Settle) succeeded Kitchener Pasha, no change was introduced in the provinces or the inspectorate, but the senior officer in charge of criminal investigation was, with the approval of Sir John Scott, attached to the Ministry of Justice as a liaison officer. The idea at the Interior was that he should gradually take over the work of the Procureur-General, and then (it was hoped) be transferred back to the Interior so as to concentrate all the criminal investigation in one Ministry. At one time the scheme looked like materialising when Mr. Legrelle was succeeded by an Egyptian, but later—for some reason—an English judge from the Court of Appeal was appointed Procureur-General, the Parquet became stronger than ever, and

the Police officer at the Ministry of Justice was removed to another post.

In 1894 Nubar Pasha came back as Prime Minister, and the Police question, which had remained dormant for years, was at once raised. By this time Lord Cromer had made up his mind that an Adviser was as necessary in the Interior as in the other Ministries. Nubar Pasha saw that he had no longer the power to stave off an Adviser, so the line he took was to agree to an Adviser if Lord Cromer would suppress his old enemy the Inspector-General of Police!

In order better to understand the details of the compromise agreed to by Lord Cromer, let us consider for a moment the component parts of the Ministry of the Interior. There were four Departments—Police, Public Health, Prisons and Local Government Board—each under an English chief with a staff of English officers. There was also what was termed the "Bureau Arab," which was under the Minister's immediate control without any English assistance. The appointment and discipline of the Mudirs and personnel other than those employed in the four Departments was dealt with in this Bureau, and it was owing to its maladministration that an Adviser was thought necessary. Lord Cromer considered that the direct control over Mudirs was more important than the control exercised by the Inspector-General over Commandants and indirectly over Mudirs.

But there was really no necessity to sacrifice the superior Police officers on this account. Lord Cromer of 1894 was in a much stronger position than Sir Evelyn Baring of 1884. His Lordship had only to report to the Foreign Office that an Adviser was necessary, and the proposal was sure of approval. However, it was not to be, and the Inspector-General and Deputy disappeared. The rest of the Police staff were all retained, and the Minister with his Adviser became his own Inspector-General of Police, in addition to having ministerial authority over the remaining Departments with their English chiefs. To put it in another way, whilst Prisons, Public Health and Local Government Institutions required the assistance of a senior officer with presumed expert knowledge, the public security was of such minor importance that a politician without any police experience was all that was necessary!

Unfortunately the change was not confined to the Ministry. The Mudir became his own Chief of Police in addition to the

hundred and one other administrative duties he was, and is, called on to perform. Similarly the officer in charge of the Police station is now also a surveyor of taxes, chairman of village institutions, and administrator of his charge generally.

If this Egyptian system is sound, then all I can say is that for all these years in India we have been working on wrong lines. In England, too, why have Chief Constables and Superintendents of police stations? Why not leave police questions to the chairman of the County Council and local tax collectors to deal with in their spare time?

Again, the ostensible reason for the change was that the police inspector's presence affected adversely the Mudir's prestige. But what about the Mudir's prestige now? Formerly, under Mr. Lloyd's scheme, Mudirs were asked to confer with senior officers of equal or superior rank to themselves; now the provinces are overrun by young Englishmen straight from the Universities, who inspect and report on the work of Mudirs of many years' experience and in some cases old enough to be their fathers! Police inspectors (military side), police inspectors (civil side), finance inspectors, public health inspectors, irrigation inspectors, agricultural inspectors, veterinary inspectors, have all to be received and listened to by a Mudir in his day's work. Is this system less detrimental to a Mudir's prestige than the old Police control from Headquarters? I remember a Mudir (he is now a Minister) saying to me: "Have you English no shame that you send these young men to inspect and report on us?"

It is, again, equally absurd to suppose that a Mudir has more control now over his officers and men than he had formerly. How can this be when all officers and men are still on a general list and subject to a central authority for appointment, promotion, transfer and discharge? The only difference is that now a Mudir has to write to the Minister instead of to the Inspector-General of Police if he wants to make any recommendation.

I have the greatest admiration for the late Lord Cromer and all that he has done for Egypt, and in my opinion he was, as an administrator, head and shoulders above any of H.B.M.'s representatives under whom I have served. Such being the case, Lord Cromer's handling of this Police question has always appeared to me inexplicable. If, too, I read Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt* correctly, the Police and Interior record is a record of apology rather than a record of triumph for what has been

accomplished. It was undoubtedly a police question that contributed largely to Lord Cromer's unpopularity at the close of his career. I shall ever remember Lord Cromer's departure from Cairo practically under police protection, when thousands should have been acclaiming him for all the good he had done for the country. I refer to the Denshawi incident and the executions that followed, for which the Egyptian public held Lord Cromer responsible though he was absent in England when the sentences were carried out. I think that Lord Cromer was badly advised over the facts, or rather motives, and also badly advised when both he and the Judicial Adviser left the country whilst the case was still pending. I will go further and say that, had there been an experienced Inspector-General of Police, in the first instance, to inquire into the case and report, the incident would never have reached the stage that it did.

It may be thought that I am a disappointed official, and as such, not an unbiassed witness in this Police question, but this is one of the remarkable things in connection with this so-called Police Reform. Far from any of us having a grievance I think we all benefited. I was made head of the Prisons probably sooner than I should have been in the ordinary course. I think, too, that I am correct in stating that many of the Commandants became Mudirs, and practically all the officers in charge of stations were promoted Mamurs-el-Merkaz (local administrators). If I in particular, and Police officers in general, are disappointed officials, we are certainly hard to please! In fact, I do not think any greater compliment could have been paid to the senior officers than the fact that Sir Eldon Gorst promoted all of them to higher administrative posts. It was clearly not the personnel that was considered inefficient.

But all this occurred some twenty-five years ago. If the reform was a sound one it should surely have borne fruit by now? Yet for the past twenty-five years the annual administrative reports from Egypt have invariably contained an apology for the state of crime. Brigandage ceased years ago when the country settled down, but every other description of crime which reflects the working of the Police and the Public Prosecutor's Department has gone on increasing. If we take the years 1905 and 1913 as examples (I happen to have these reports), what do we find? Murders, 1905, 513; 1913, 813; attempts, 1905, 399; 1913, 601; total crimes, 1905, 3,011; 1913, 4,098; total *délits*, 1905,

76,248; 1913, 92,928. It is said figures can be made to prove anything, but these figures are difficult to explain away. If, years ago, Baker Pasha was accused of playing at soldiers instead of attending to police matters, we can surely now claim that Diplomats and Judicial Advisers have for twenty-five years played at being Police officers—and with very unsatisfactory results.

In the last report from Egypt submitted by the late Lord Kitchener (though the Police chapters were probably written by Sir Ronald Graham), after animadverting on the unsatisfactory state of public security the situation is summed up thus: "Either these efforts will be crowned with success or it will be proved that the calls of *other duties upon their* (*Mudirs'*) *time and energy are too exacting for them to deal adequately* with the question, in which case some change in the existing system must be considered"!

The italics are mine. I wonder who the reformer will be who will once more reorganise the Police on the lines indicated by Lord Kitchener. Will it perchance be Sir Ronald Graham?

CHAPTER XVII.

Parquet and Tribunals.

In the preceding chapters I have endeavoured to show to what an extent the so called reforms at the Interior adversely affected the maintenance of public security in Egypt. I will now discuss how far this very unsatisfactory state of affairs can be attributed to the constitution of the Courts in general and the Parquet system in particular.

Before doing so it may be as well to explain why the law of 1883, commonly spoken of as the French law, came to be promulgated. I do not believe that Lord Dufferin ever considered whether the law was or was not suitable for an Eastern country. He knew that five years previously Nubar Pasha had succeeded in introducing the Mixed Tribunals to deal with civil cases in which Europeans and Egyptians were jointly concerned. He knew that Nubar Pasha had endeavoured also to get a criminal law accepted and that Codes actually existed in the Ministry, having been translated from the French into Arabic. Further, he was influenced by the fact that the few Egyptians who had studied law had done so in the French schools. Finally, he probably argued that any law is better than no law.

In short, I do not think that at that time anyone quite realised what an upheaval was about to take place. It was only when Mr. Clifford Lloyd endeavoured to reconcile the provisions of the Code of Procedure with the powers hitherto exercised by Mudirs and Police officers that the importance of the issues at stake became apparent. By that time Lord Cromer was in command, and for reasons already stated in the preceding chapters the problem was not tackled and the whole question was allowed to drift.

The outstanding features of the Codes which became the law of the land were: (1) classification of all offences into "crimes," "*délits*" and "contraventions"; (2) constitution of separate Courts to deal with each category; (3) plurality of judges; (4) every punishment entailing imprisonment was subject to appeal

to a Court of Appeal in Cairo ; (5) powers of a Juge d'Instruction ; (6) prerogative of the Parquet or Public Prosecutor's Department. The definition of "crimes" and "*délits*" was not unlike the English distinction between felonies and misdemeanours, but "contraventions" did not include all the minor offences heard by Petty Sessions and Police Magistrates in England, such as assaults and petty thefts. Neither could the Contravention Courts inflict a punishment exceeding seven days' imprisonment or fine of £1 or both.

The constitution of the Courts and judicial areas was the first difficulty the Egyptian Government of the day had to face. There was no money to provide the number of Courts required, and no personnel with judicial training to man the Courts even if money had been forthcoming. The Government was hopelessly handicapped and endeavoured to meet the situation by creating a judicial area for every two Mudiriehs or administration areas. At each judicial centre the Courts were established, and every offence committed in Egypt had to be dealt with at one or other of these centres. Even with this centralisation only about 25 per cent. or 30 per cent. of the judges appointed had received any legal training.

The Mudirs, seeing the powers which they had hitherto exercised reserved now exclusively for the Parquet, "sulked in their tents," and the new constabulary officers threw the blame on the Parquet when their cases broke down. The inevitable happened; the judicial machine became thoroughly clogged, and the peasants, seeing their old masters, the Mudirs, powerless, got completely out of hand, and gang robberies and brigandage were rampant.

Nubar Pasha, having created his Frankenstein, endeavoured to cope with the situation by appointing Commissions to try cases of brigandage. The iniquities of these Commissions have been so frequently referred to in Lord Cromer's reports that one is apt to lose sight of the good that they did. If some innocent men suffered, and they undoubtedly did, a large number of bad characters were kept in control, and not a few were either hanged or sent to penal servitude. I am inclined to think that, but for these Commissions, the situation might have become even worse than it did. However, I need not argue this point as, in 1888, the Commissions were abolished and we had to do the best we could with only the ordinary law to help us.

The situation as regards brigandage showed come sign of improvement as the country settled down after the war, but the hopeless congestion of cases in the Courts continued. Sir Raymond West had reported on the working of the Courts, but so far Lord Cromer showed no signs of interfering in the Ministry of Justice, which was left entirely to Egyptians. Long before Sir John Scott was thought of, Johnson Pasha, another Police officer, and myself had submitted a proposal urging the necessity of decentralisation of justice and the creation of summary courts in each Merkaz (subdivision of a Mudirieh), but although a Commission was appointed at the Ministry of Justice to consider our scheme nothing came of it beyond a lot of talk. Yet it was the same scheme, practically speaking, which Sir John Scott later succeeded in getting accepted without much opposition.

I need not here recapitulate all the changes Sir John Scott and his successor introduced; it will suffice to say that the constitution of the Courts to-day bears a much closer resemblance to the Indian than the French judicial system, as can be seen from the tabular statement to be given at the close of the present chapter.

The French definition of crimes, *délits* and contraventions still continues, but this classification as regards the Courts has been entirely abandoned, and with the exception of the Assize Courts the plurality of judges has also disappeared.

This particular reform, of Assize Judges trying the more heinous offences without the right of appeal, differs, of course, from the Indian procedure and was the subject of much criticism in judicial circles at the time it was introduced. I may observe, too, that this change in the law was brought about at the very time that a Court of Criminal Appeal was being created in England. But anything was better than the old system, which necessitated months before a final conviction could be obtained.

In the matter of granting magisterial powers to administrative officers, as in India, the Egyptian Ministry of Justice has remained obdurate and steadily refused to countenance any proposal of the kind. I have not the slightest hesitation in stating that this was the primary cause of the very unsatisfactory state of public security which still continues in Egypt, although brigandage may be said to have ceased.

But this complete separation of judicial and administrative functions is not the only cause, as the procedure of the Parquet

plays also a very important part. In fact I think that it is to a change in this procedure rather than to any radical change in the constitution of the Courts that we must look in the future for the bringing about of a healthier atmosphere as regards crime. I have already alluded to the powers of the Juge d'Instruction and the prerogative of the Parquet as salient features of the French law. If we examine the manner in which these officials exercise their powers in Egypt and then make comparison with the control exercised by magistrates over police officers in India, we shall be the better able to judge how far my contention is correct that it is this Parquet procedure which now calls for reform.

In one respect only is the prodecure in India and Egypt identical. Every complaint made to a police officer, or any offence coming to the knowledge of a police officer, must be reported to a magistrate within twenty-four hours. In India the magistrate is the magistrate who has jurisdiction. In Egypt the magistrate is the Parquet (member of the Public Prosecutor's Department). In India the magistrates leave it entirely to the police to complete the case and submit later for trial. In Egypt the Parquet at once intervenes and in all important cases take the investigation out of Police hands. Thus the police lose all interest in the prosecution, and incompetent officers shelter themselves behind the Parquet.

In India when a police officer considers that the evidence does not warrant an accused being sent for trial, the case has to be reported to the magistrate with a reasoned statement. This report is submitted through a superior officer of police who may give any order he sees fit pending instructions from the magistrate. In Egypt the police only act as delegated by the Parquet, and a superior police authority is ignored. Again, in India the officer in charge of a Police station has certain powers defined by law, such as search for suspected persons, or for stolen property, summoning witnesses, etc. In Egypt the police have no power other than as delegated by the Parquet in each case, and even a summons is served by a huissier (bailiff) of the Parquet.

Again, in India offences are classed as cognisable and non-cognisable, the latter being complaints which cannot be entertained without the orders of a magistrate and payment of a fee. These offences may be generally described as calling rather for civil redress to the person injured than a prosecution at the public expense. As an example, hurt, cheating, adultery, are

non-cognisable and cannot be investigated by the police without an order, and are as a rule dealt with by the magistrate without police assistance. In Egypt there is no such distinction, and the police are encouraged by the Parquet to waste time over petty cases of hurt, assault, abuse, etc., which in India would not be listened to by the police at all.

Further, all statements made before the police are in Egypt accepted as evidence, consequently great care has to be exercised in drawing up what is called a *procés-verbal.* This writing of *procés-verbaux* is a very infectious disease, and police officers spend hours in writing long statements of irrelevant matter which might be more profitably spent elsewhere. It must also be remembered that all evidence in the East has to be extracted by some means or other. A witness will often commence by denying all knowledge of the facts about which he may eventually give valuable evidence. Under Egyptian procedure all this has to be recorded. It can be imagined, therefore, what a magistrate or judge has to wade through and sift to get at the truth. These *procés-verbaux* are always studied by the Court prior to the trial, and it sometimes happens that the evidence recorded by the Parquet or Police is accepted rather than the statements in Court. In fact, the Court proceedings are frequently very summary compared with the Parquet inquiry, the tendency being to try the accused before he appears in Court. To make the Parquet still more powerful Juges d'Instruction have of late years been abolished in Egypt, and the member of the Parquet conducting an inquiry is, practically speaking, a police officer and committing magistrate combined. As there is now a member of the Parquet in each Merkaz (subdivision of a Mudirieh), the administrative authority, be he the head of the Merkaz or the police officer, has now in serious cases little responsibility beyond reporting to the Parquet and carrying out his orders. Not only this, but in each Mudirieh there is a "Chief of the Parquet" controlling the representative in the Merkaz and in turn being controlled by the Procureur-General. The Parquet as a whole is entirely independent of the Minister of the Interior, being under the Minister of Justice. Thus the dual control which Nubar Pasha complained of in connection with the central Police organisation still exists in connection with the Parquet, and is intensified owing to the Parquet being subordinate to another Ministry. I have no doubt that this is the principal cause of the steady increase of all

crime during the past thirty years, as the figures I have given at the close of the preceding chapter demonstrate.

We thus see that the party responsible, or which should be held responsible, is the Parquet, and not the Police. But the trouble does not end here. The members of the Parquet are highly educated (Egyptian schools) young men, undoubtedly more intelligent than the average police officer and probably of a higher standard of morality, but their forte is with the pen and not in the saddle. They visit scenes of crime, it is true, but never sleep out if they can possibly avoid doing so, pinning their faith on long cross-examinations conducted in their own office to which witnesses are all summoned. Again, their long residence in Cairo, to complete their legal training, has left them out of touch with village customs almost as much as a European.

This is all very different from the Indian system, which provides for the assistance of a Public Prosecutor in serious cases, though only to advise on points of law and to speak to a brief prepared by the police. In India the police officers know that not only are they responsible for the prevention of crime but also for the detection and prosecution of offenders.

Of course, the Egyptian Parquet, as it exists, really takes the place of the English and Indian Criminal Investigation Department.

But the English Commandants in the cities and the Mudirs in the provinces have created Criminal Investigation Departments of their own outside the Parquet. In fact, I doubt if there is any other country in the world which for its size expends more on the prosecution of offenders than Egypt does—and, I may add, with such poor results. The whole system requires to be reorganised, the Police must be attached to the Ministry of Justice or the Parquet to the Interior. There should be one Ministry, not two, for the detection of crime and prosecution of offenders.

I have no doubt in my own mind that it is the Parquet that should form part of the Interior and be amalgamated with the Criminal Investigation Department, not only in the Ministry itself but also throughout the Mudiriehs and cities. The Parquet should at the same time cease to be Committing Magistrates, which duty might well be left to the Summary Judges (see the table at close of this chapter). Let the Parquet understand that they are the legal advisers of the Police and that

they are not called on to interfere in the detection of crime unless asked; let them understand that their principal duty is to plead cases before the Courts. At the same time let the police officers understand that they alone are responsible for evidence.

As at present constituted, in addition to being Public Prosecutors, the Parquet are, as it were, the guardians of the law, and in this capacity exercise very extensive rights of appeal. This right of appeal gives the Parquet, in a sense, almost the powers of revision exercised by the High Court in India.

If the Parquet became part and parcel of the Interior these powers of appeal would have to be reconsidered. But with the many changes already introduced in the original French law I see no reason why powers of revision and supervision should not be exercised by the Court of Appeal, possibly with a more satisfactory result than by Inspectors attached to the Ministry of Justice, as was at one time in vogue in Egypt.

Again, the relations between the Parquet and the Courts would have to be modified, the Parquet ceasing to be the executive of the Courts; here again the Indian system offers an excellent precedent. If, too, the money now expended on "Huissiers" in criminal cases be credited to the Police Budget it would enable a welcome addition to be made to the Force, and warrants and summonses could be equally well served by the Police as by "Huissiers."

Further, the absurd system of making the police officers the public prosecutors in petty cases should be stopped, certain cases being considered "non-cognisable" as in India. Prosecutions in such cases should be left to the injured parties themselves and a small fee should be charged as in India and under the County Court system in England, where you can swear your plaint and get redress without even attending a Court, supposing the case is compounded or not defended.

With the close of the present World War and the new conditions which, let us hope, will then exist in Egypt, there should be no difficulty in carrying out these reforms, and I recommend them to the notice of the Commission which, I am told, is sitting to consider what changes should be introduced.

STATEMENT SHOWING CONSTITUTION OF COURTS IN INDIA AND EGYPT RESPECTIVELY.

India.	Egypt (1917).	Egypt (1883).
I. High Court (in each Presidency). Powers of appeal and revision.	I. No appeal.	I. Court of Appeal (sitting in Cairo).
II. Sessions Court (single Judge with Assessors). Any punishment.	II. Assize Court (three Appeal Judges, on circuit from Cairo). Any punishment.	II. Crime Tribunal (three Judges). Any punishment.
III. Magistrate. (2) 1st Class (single Magistrate). Two years or fine or both. (1) Power to commit to Sessions Court.	III. Summary Judge (single Judge). Two years or fine or both.	III. *Delit* Tribunal (three Judges). Three years or fine or both.
IV. Magistrate. (2) 2nd Class (single Magistrate). Six months or fine or both.	IV. Merkaz Court (single Judge). On circuit in cities only. Seven days or £1 fine or both.	IV. Contravention Tribunal (single Judge). Seven days or £1 fine or both.
V. Magistrate. (2) 3rd Class (single Magistrate). Three months or £5 fine or both.	V. Cantonal Court (Bench of Village Head Men). Twenty-four hours or 5s. or both.	V. None.

(1) Power to commit for trial in Egypt formerly exercised by Juge d'Instruction but now granted to the Parquet.
(2) These Magistrates also exercise administrative duties.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Police Personnel.

Before I finally take leave of this public security problem, I should like to add a few observations on the question of the personnel employed as Police officials in India and Egypt respectively.

In his book on Egypt, Sir Auckland Colvin speaks of the Indian Police as the despair of Indian Governors, and states that it is almost impossible to get respectable men to enter the higher grades owing to their being subject to the intrigues of the worst class of the population. He further implies that for this reason it is very difficult to organise a good working police force from the native material either in India or in Egypt.

This is a somewhat sweeping comment to make, and it reflects to a certain extent on the English Police Superintendents in India, who are responsible for the personnel enlisted in each Province (District). It is the Superintendent of Police who has absolutely a free hand in the enlistment of the men and promotion of officers; at least he had, some forty years ago, on the Bombay side, where I was serving, and I fancy that it is much the same now. As an old Indian Police officer I must demur to the statement of Sir Auckland Colvin, but I must nevertheless admit that there is a certain modicum of truth in the assertion, in that the men who volunteered for and enlisted in the Indian Army were certainly of a better class than the men we succeeded in persuading to join the Police in India, as the Army was in those days much the more popular force of the two.

But as regards the officers, no comparison can be made, as all the Army officers were promoted rankers, whilst the Police officers were of quite a different type—in those days on the Bombay side mostly Brahmins—and better educated, though undoubtedly inferior as fighting men.

In Egypt there is no difficulty in getting sons of good families to join the Police as officers, and the men are, or were, mostly

conscripts—in fact, came straight from the Army to the Police; so the Indian and Egyptian systems have nothing in common, as Sir Auckland Colvin would lead one to suppose.

Before I went to Egypt I had never had any experience of conscripts, and was thoroughly imbued with English ideas as to one volunteer being worth a dozen conscripts. It was no small surprise to me, therefore, to learn on my arrival in Cairo that the majority of the Police were conscripted, and when I heard from Mr. Clifford Lloyd that he had every intention of organising a volunteer force and proposed to teach the men their duties at a depot, I welcomed the scheme as sound in every way.

It was only some months afterwards, when I came to compare the volunteers we were getting with the conscripts, that I began to have my doubts, and after a year or two I reluctantly came to the conclusion that after all there was a good deal to be said in favour of conscripts. I was not singular. Mudirs and Commandants of Police were emphatic in their requests that they should be provided with conscripts and not volunteers wherever vacancies had to be filled, the fact being that in those days the volunteers who came forward were wasters from the cities, untrustworthy, of comparatively poor physique, and of little use. When, therefore, later, in 1889 I think, the Sirdar, General Grenfell, tried to get the law changed so as to avoid sending men to the Police on completion of their six years with the colours, the proposal was opposed by the Interior. A Commission, of which I was a member, was appointed to consider the whole question, and we (Police officers) eventually persuaded the Sirdar and the Government to continue to send us men from the Army.

Some twenty years later, when more money was available, a Police school was established, and an endeavour was made to attract a better class of volunteers by increasing the pay very considerably. I had left the Police before this second experiment was made and cannot therefore speak from personal experience, but I understand that there are still many who prefer the old soldier to the more intelligent and less trustworthy volunteer.

Possibly in the cities the better educated man is now more useful, but in the provinces the work is nearly all patrolling and escorts of prisoners; the extra intelligence is therefore not so necessary.

During the last few years of the Inspector-General's regime,

when I was in charge at the Ministry, I endeavoured to meet the provincial requirements by appointing to each sub-station a few plain-clothes police or detectives to assist the officer-in-charge in his investigations. But for some reason or other the system was at once put a stop to by Sir Eldon Gorst, when he became Adviser. I presume that the Mudirs must have reported unfavourably, but I am still of opinion that the system was sound, and had I remained in the Police it would have been continued and extended.

As regards the discipline of the forces: in the place of the power of dismissal exercised by the Superintendent of police in India, the men in Egypt, owing to their being conscripts, have to be dealt with by courts-martial, and long sentences of imprisonment and lashes are often inflicted. This, of course, is a deterrent, but I doubt if the discipline is any better or corruption any less in consequence. Personally, I am not a great believer in the lash and consider it tends to brutalise the men, but one cannot judge an Egyptian altogether on Western standards, and I fancy that the majority of English officers serving both in the Army and Police will insist that flogging is indispensable.

The loss of pension which dismissal entails in India has a very salutary effect, especially after a man has several years to his credit. Until the Egyptian policeman is on a pension list I suppose it would hardly be safe to forgo the right to inflict corporal punishment as a punishment.

Of course, in the early years when a policeman's salary did not exceed £1 a month, it was absurd to think of a pension, but a great chance was missed later when the pay was more than doubled. I was not in the Police at the time when money became available for this large increase, but I nevertheless strongly urged the Adviser, Mr. Chitty (since Sir Arthur Chitty) to allow a portion of this extra pay to be reserved for deferred payment or pension. I fear that my motive was not altogether an unselfish one, as I foresaw that this large increase in the pay of the Police would have a very disastrous effect (which it had) on my own men (prison warders), who were all volunteers. However, I was not listened to, and the Police, who now are all drawing excellent pay, have still nothing to look forward to for maintenance in their old age beyond a small gratuity. Doubtless some reformer of the future will come along, and the men will eventually be made to subscribe to a superannuation fund, but all these years will have been wasted.

We will now consider the case of the officers. Mr. Clifford Lloyd's Police Depot was the first attempt at a Police school where officers could be taught their duties. Unfortunately it disappeared with Mr. Lloyd, as Baker Pasha considered a Black Reserve more useful (see Chapter III.). We then carried on as best we could with the officers from the old mutinous army. It was not till seven years later that Kitchener Pasha (as he then was) introduced a lot of fresh blood in the shape of Egyptian officers of the new Army who had been trained under English officers.

Kitchener Pasha also arranged with the military school that the Police should receive each year a certain number of cadets who had completed their training. I may here mention that in those early days when educated men were scarce, every young Egyptian endeavoured to obtain a secondary certificate which would qualify him for either the law school, the engineering college, or the school of medicine. Failing one of these he fell back on the military school, where cadets with primary educational certificates were accepted. This, of course, meant that Army and Police officers started in life with their education incomplete. I do not mean to say that in after life some of these military and police officers did not prove better administrators than the more successful pupils from the other higher colleges, but it did mean that as a body the graduates from the law school, which fed the Parquet and Tribunals, were more intellectual and better educated than their contemporaries in the Army and Police.

At the time Kitchener Pasha made the arrangement with the military school, it was undoubtedly the best thing that could be done as the Finance authorities were unable to give us a credit for a school of our own. On the other hand it was not altogether satisfactory, as the training was purely military and the Army had the first pick of the cadets. A cadet straight from school, too, was not to be compared with the young officers first introduced by Kitchener Pasha with several years' Army service.

This system of the military school feeding the Police continued for some years, and probably would have continued longer had not the Soudan Expedition necessitated the Army refusing to supply us with any more cadets.

I was then Commandant of Police at Cairo, and Sir Eldon Gorst asked me to undertake some system of teaching young police officers, in addition to the many other duties for the Army and Police which I was at that time called on to perform.

I did my best, and arranged with the School of Law that the police cadets should attend certain lectures in addition to a number of hours' practical work at the police stations—drilling every morning and evening was also part of the course. I cannot say that the instruction was ideal, but it was practical and answered the purpose for a couple of years till I left the Police.

By this time more money was available and a regular school with special instructors was established by Mr. Machell, who had succeeded Sir Eldon Gorst. Since that date a palatial building has been completed at Abbassieh with accommodation for sixty cadets, officers, and 600 cadet constables. As far as instruction goes I do not see what more can be done; the only question to my mind is, is it not overdone? When I look back to the first twenty years of police evolution one wonders that we succeeded as well as we did; one wonders still more that better results are not now forthcoming for all the labour and money since expended.

The Indian system of my day cannot, of course, compare in any way favourably with the existing Police School in Egypt. But I am, nevertheless, doubtful whether the Indian police officer of forty years ago was not more capable than the Egyptian officer of to-day. When I say capable, I refer to the detection and prevention of crime, including the prosecution of offenders. In morality there is probably not much to choose. In his drill and general turn-out the Egyptian is far superior, but I am quite sure that if the two officers were to start to investigate a case on equal terms, the Egyptian officer would be still writing the question and answer of a long *procés-verbal* whilst the Indian officer would have completed his case, sent the accused for trial, and probably succeeded in recovering stolen property, if any had been stolen!

For the reason of this inferiority I can only refer to what I have stated in the preceding chapters. Until the Egyptian officer learns that he, and he alone, is responsible, and will be judged by results, he will shelter himself behind the Parquet or his Mamur-el-Merkaz and continue to write long judicial proceedings in connection with petty cases of no public security importance.

This chapter on personnel can hardly be complete without some passing reference to the village police, who play such an important part in provincial affairs. The village police have been gradually evolved from the unpaid watch and ward by *tour de rôle* of the early days; first (as I have already described), by the late Lord Kitchener, and subsequently by the Advisers at the Interior.

till I think it may be said that the Egyptian gaffir of to-day is equal, if not superior, to anything of the kind that India can produce. I may just add that of late years it was not an uncommon sight to see squads of gaffirs learning Swedish drill at each police station, though how Swedish drill can make a better night watchman or detective of a gaffir I am not prepared to say. I only hope that the fund which I created out of the rifles (see Chapter XIII.) has not been misappropriated for such superfluous instruction.

CHAPTER XIX.

Prison Reforms, 1897–1913.

My nomination as Inspector-General of Prisons created quite a flutter in the Public Health Department, as my predecessor had been a medical man and the Public Health officers looked on the Prisons Department as one of their special perquisites. Sir Eldon Gorst had told me some months before that he had earmarked the post for me, but suggested that I should keep quiet about it till Lord Cromer had agreed, as there was likely to be opposition.

It was, therefore, with no small misgiving that I started on my career, as I was not likely to get much assistance from the Public Health people, and for years I had been watching my predecessor struggling with what appeared to be an impossible task. There was no money to spare on such luxuries as prisons and only such prisoners as were absolutely starving were given anything to eat, while as for clothing, what could be better than the garments the men happened to be wearing when arrested? If, too, they did not like sleeping on the bare boards, it was their own affair, they could always bring their own bedding!

In his book, *Modern Egypt*, Lord Cromer has described the condition of Egyptian prisons when reported on by Colonel Chermside (now Sir Herbert Chermside) and Mr. Beaman for Lord Dufferin's information, but he does not tell you that for the first dozen years of our occupation very little improvement had taken place. It is true that the old buildings were copiously whitewashed and some efforts were made by the Courts not to keep accused persons many months under trial, but all the conditions of clothing and rationing remained very much the same. The over-crowding, too, was appalling, and epidemics of jail fever were constantly recurring. Periodical jail deliveries on the Mohammedan festivals were the only means available of relieving the situation.

This was the condition as regards the provinces. At Tura—

the penal servitude establishment—an attempt had been made to turn an old factory into a prison and the prisoners were rationed; but the construction of the building was so generally faulty, and so wanting in ventilation, that there, too, the death-rate was very heavy and had already formed the subject of an independent inquiry by the Public Health Department.

I remember inquiring of one of the provincial Prison Directors how he was guided in furnishing the dry bread ration (the only ration provided) to starving prisoners. He promptly replied, "I wait till the third day, and then if the prisoner's relatives or friends do not send any food, I authorise a ration." I need not point out that under such a system peculation must have been rife as there was no possibility of controlling the distribution, there being no connection between the number of prisoners and the ration issued.

An endeavour was made to separate the prisoners under trial from those convicted, but no distinction could be drawn between criminals and delinquents, and as the accommodation consisted of large barrack rooms, each containing one hundred prisoners or more (and I have seen four hundred in one room), it was marvellous how any particular prisoner could be identified. In fact there was nothing to prevent one prisoner taking the place of another when the warder shouted out the name of any particular man wanted for the Courts or release. All, too, were exercised in the common yard together daily. As a matter of fact, however, I never heard of any substitution taking place in my time, though as far as I could see there was nothing to prevent it.

Such was the condition of affairs when I took over the Department in 1897. I do not think that the picture I have drawn is in any way exaggerated, but I trust that what I have stated will not be looked on as a reflection on my predecessor. You cannot make bricks without straw, even in Egypt, and you certainly cannot accommodate, feed and clothe prisoners without money. If I have any adverse criticism to make, it is that Lord Cromer was allowed to think that the conditions were better than they really were; as even a writer so well informed as Lord Milner (then Mr. Milner) terms these prisons, in his book, the *Model Prisons*.

Of course, too, my predecessor's standard and mine were not the same. I remember his telling me that the Public Works Department had agreed as a favour to allot £4,000 per annum for

building, and his astonishment when I said, "I hope to get at least £40,000 per annum!" I have also vivid recollections of my first interview with the late Sir Elwin Palmer (then Financial Adviser) after I was appointed to the Prisons. Sir Elwin Palmer evidently looked on me as a lunatic when I assured him that I should require at least £500,000 for building and probably an addition of £200,000 a year to the budget. I was told that Lord Cromer would have to speak seriously to me, and spoken to I *was*, but nevertheless in my fifteen years' administration I succeeded in extracting the half-million for new prisons, and my last budget was not far short of the figure I had intimated; in fact, so successful was I in obtaining credits that I got myself thoroughly disliked by my brother heads of Departments as the *enfant gâté* of the service who was getting more than his share of the spoils.

The relations between the Prisons Department and Public Health had been somewhat strained for years on account of some professional jealousy, but as I wanted all the assistance I could secure from the Public Health authorities I began by offering to hand over the control of the Medical Section to the Public Health; but I was told that this could not possibly be arranged. I next suggested that as a lock and key played an important part with lunatics and prisoners and many prisoners were more fit for asylums than prisons, the asylums should be detached from the Public Health Department and attached to the Prisons, and that the Government mental expert, Dr. Warnock, should be made senior Medical Officer of the Prisons, with the chance of succeeding me when I left. This, too, was received with a *non possumus*. I saw that these proposals of mine were looked on as a confession of weakness and inability to run the Prisons Department without the assistance of the Public Health. I therefore changed my tactics and created a medical service of my own, obtaining the necessary credit from the Finance.

I was all along of opinion, though, that the Prison and Asylum combination was a very sound scheme, and when I left Egypt fifteen years later I again made the proposal to Lord Kitchener. Lord Kitchener recognised that there was nothing in common between Public Health and Lunacy, but preferred to create another special Department with a Director-General of Asylums in charge; so my more modest suggestion did not materialise.

The French Code which is in force in Egypt does not provide for an Inspector-General of Prisons, the Procureur-General and

his Parquet being the supervising authority under the Minister of Justice. Mr. Lloyd, who had created the Prisons Department under the Interior, had ignored this, much the same as he ignored the Parquet control over the Police. Prison questions with the Parquet were therefore constantly arising, although the controversy never reached the stage which it reached in the case of the Police.

I determined, therefore, that if possible matters should be put on a better footing. I accordingly drafted a Decree in which our respective duties and powers were clearly defined.

It took some weeks of wrangling with the Procureur-General before we could come to an agreement as to our respective duties, but with the help of Mr. Brunyate (now Sir William Brunyate) my draft eventually took the required form and became the law. I think that all three of us deserve credit for our labours; at all events the Decree has enabled the Parquet and Prisons to work harmoniously together for upwards of fifteen years.

Possibly something similar might have been produced between Parquet, Mudirs and Police. It only wanted a little give and take all round.

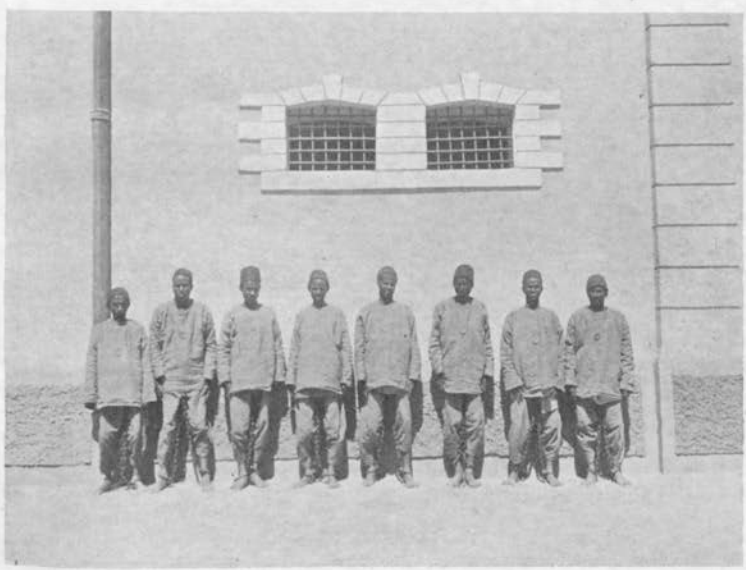
The next problem I had to solve was the design of a standard prison, and I can assure my readers it cost me many sleepless nights to think out a type of building suitable for a rainless country where heat and ventilation play a much more important part than in England. I might have taken the old-fashioned single-storey buildings of India, with which I was acquainted, as my model, but I was prejudiced against the large association wards for many reasons. On the other hand, to construct prisons entirely cellular was out of the question on account of the cost, so eventually I decided on the English type as a standard, but the ground and first floors only are cellular. The upper floors consist of small association wards capable of being made cellular later, should the prison population drop or the accommodation be increased by adding extra "blocks." The ordinary roof over the central hall is replaced by a heavy gridiron, thus providing for plenty of ventilation but assuring security. The lavatories, too, are not on the English pattern, being cut off from the block with cross ventilation. The offices are in a separate block with hospital above; similarly kitchens, baths and stores are in separate buildings. The central workshop is a special feature,

with such complete ventilation that the prisoners who work there in association are practically in the open air.

This standard type has been followed in all the prisons throughout the country and I am sure "Locundaat Coles" (Coles's Hotels) will be associated with my name long after I have been forgotten! The only fault I have ever heard found with these new prisons is that they are too luxurious, as the name some wag has given them implies.

In this connection I may repeat a story told me by an Egyptian Governor who, like some others, associated extreme cleanliness with luxury, and argued that the old insanitary buildings, full of vermin and subject to periodical epidemics of typhus amongst the half-starved prisoners, were more deterrent and therefore more suitable as prisons! It is useless to argue with people who hold such views! But to return to the Governor's story. He stated that he overheard a conversation between two peasants, one of whom said to the other: "Come, let us quarrel together in order that we may go and live in this palace" (a new prison). The irony of the story comes now. When next I saw my friend the Governor he was himself a prisoner undergoing a sentence of a year's imprisonment for fraud as a public servant. It was reported to me by the prison officials that the ex-Governor found the conditions so *severe* that he had not slept for a week and did nothing but cry! I did not remind him of our conversation and merely asked if he had any complaints!

I must admit that the Governor-prisoner had every reason to complain, as a mat and an asphalt floor was all the bedding he enjoyed. This was one of the difficulties in connection with prison administration in Egypt. The well-to-do Egyptian is in many ways a European, whereas the peasants sleep on mats in their mud hovels. One could not provide the ordinary prisoner with bedding, yet sleeping without bedding enhanced very much the punishment of the well-to-do. The difficulty was met to a certain extent by providing bedding (on payment) to those sentenced to simple imprisonment, much the same as is allowed to a first-class misdemeanant in England. But when the sentence is "with labour," as in the case of the ex-Governor, no difference could be made. What troubled me, too, was that I honestly believed my friend to be innocent, but I could do nothing as the sentence had been confirmed on appeal. If the Governor was innocent, and I still hope he was, it was a terribly severe punish-



BECHEREEN ARAB CONVICTS BEFORE AND AFTER RECEPTION AT THE PRISON

ment, as in addition to imprisonment he lost a pension which many years' service entitled him to. When he jokingly told me the story of the peasants how little he imagined the sequel!

I cannot refrain from telling of another very exceptional experience of a somewhat similar kind. A well-known society man who had been in trouble in England obtained an order to visit an Egyptian prison, being interested as "an expert," as he described himself. The visit was allowed and resulted in a very complimentary record: "the administration in some respects being an improvement on the English system," or words to that effect. A year or so after I recognised the same gentleman in the shoemakers' shop at Wormwood Scrubbs, where he was again doing time. The recognition was mutual, and of the two I fancy I felt the position the more, although, unlike the case of my friend the Egyptian Governor, there was on this occasion no question of the punishment of an innocent man. I think the story teaches us that imprisonment, whether it be in an English jail or so-called palace in Egypt, is often of little use as a deterrent.

Prisons (or palaces!) are, however, not built in a few weeks or months, and for the first half-dozen years of my administration I was kept fully employed in endeavouring to relieve the overcrowded pest-houses—for epidemics of jail fever and typhus were constantly occurring—and finding employment for the ever increasing number of prisoners.

The Indian Standing Prison Camp for extra-mural labour on public works was a useful precedent to follow, but the difficulty was that most of the public works in Egypt are in connection with cutting and cleaning canals, which necessitates a frequent change of camp. Safe custody was therefore a much more difficult problem than in India. To erect many badly designed prisons may mean a more lasting record of incompetence, but the escape of all the prisoners from a Labour Camp would probably be followed by the immediate removal of the head of the Department, so personally I was, if anything, more interested in the camps than in the buildings! At any rate, I decided to take the risk rather than die of typhus, which sooner or later I felt would be my fate if I continued to inspect the so-called prisons in their insanitary, overcrowded condition.

The handcuffs used in removing batches of prisoners in England helped me to solve the safe custody problem. I had thousands of anklets made of the same pattern and at night all the prisoners

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slept in tents, linked up by one leg in batches of fifty with two very stout padlocks at either end of the chain and, of course, under the charge of sentries.

Labour Camps were very soon established in each Province, and the system continued for years, in fact until the new accommodation was provided. I do not pretend that the discipline was ideal—in fact, transfer to a camp for labour was too popular—but the labour paid for by contractors sufficed not only for the prisoners' subsistence but also to pay for the extra warders especially enlisted to guard them ! What would trade unionists say to this in England ?

The experience I thus gained helped me considerably years after when the late Lord Kitchener returned to Egypt as H.M.'s Representative. His Lordship was not at all impressed with my new buildings and up-to-date administration from a scientific prison reformer's point of view, which I had developed before his lordship's arrival ; in fact, he evidently agreed with the Egyptian Governor mentioned above ! One day I was sent for and, after being talked to on the necessity of getting hard labour (not industrial labour) out of prisoners, I was told that a macadamised road for motor traffic, including bridges, from Cairo to Helwan must be completed within six months, the distance being about 18 miles. I think Lord Kitchener chuckled at what he thought an impossible task, but the road was finished before the time prescribed. I am afraid to give, though, the number of prisoners collected from all over the country to complete the task. I then thought it was my turn to talk to his lordship about the unnecessary trouble and expense the Department had been caused for a work of very doubtful utility ! Lord Kitchener only laughed and said that, having shown what could be done, I had better start on another road from Cairo to Alexandria forthwith !

I tell this story as I think it is very characteristic and illustrates Lord Kitchener's strong personality and how he was never deterred by difficulties, no matter what. Somehow or other, too, he seemed to imbue all those who worked under him with the same spirit, irrespective of whether they agreed or disagreed with his policy. Speaking of myself, I took the greatest interest in completing this Helwan road, although I felt it would be of little use when completed and for the time being it interfered with many other projects which were in course of completion.

It is this same personality which has produced our Army at present fighting in France and, I think, accounts for thousands being subscribed as a memorial to Lord Kitchener, whilst hundreds are with difficulty collected for a tablet in Westminster Abbey to Lord Cromer. Yet if a true debit and credit account could be drawn of the services of these two very exceptional men I am sure the balance in Lord Cromer's favour would be the larger of the two; at least, that is my opinion. But I must not permit myself to wander from prison problems.

I found that although, by these labour camp expedients, I succeeded in relieving the overcrowding to a certain extent, something more was still required to cope with the ever increasing number of prisoners. The reason of this excessive prison population was not far to seek. Legislation in Egypt is, comparatively speaking, an easy task. A zealous head of a Department has only to draft regulations, get them put into legal phraseology by the special committee at the Ministry of Justice, and in a few weeks they are approved by the Council of Ministers and become the law of the land! There are also the various by-laws which only require the approval of the Minister concerned. All these laws and regulations lead to the same goal (or gaol!)—viz., fine or imprisonment—with the result that large numbers of the community are punished for acts which have been their regular custom for generations but which are now termed *délits* and contraventions.

Apart from the question of prison accommodation and cost to the State, this application of highly civilised laws to a backward people like the Egyptian peasantry—who are not only ignorant but have not always the means of obeying the law, even should they desire to do so—is one which requires very careful handling by the English administrator. The law cannot be altogether ignored, but an Egyptian subordinate is apt to be too zealous and abuse his powers unless carefully watched; and the law then becomes a curse instead of a blessing to the community.

As a Police officer I fear that I was not an exception, but as a Prison official I very soon came to the conclusion that for about fifty per cent. of the persons sent to jail some other form of punishment ought to be found. My old friends in the Police, seeing my change of view, used jokingly to say that having spent the first half of my life sending innocent people to prison I was now endeavouring to make my peace with the Almighty by keeping guilty people out of prison!

Of course, as a prison official I was not called on to initiate legislation in this connection, but it was clear that the authorities in the Justice were not at all enthusiastic on the subject and that if I did not move in the matter no one else would. I had first of all to persuade Lord Cromer, and for some months I fear that I bombarded the Agency with all sorts of proposals on matters relating to imprisonment, and ran considerable risk of being told to mind my own business. In fact, my relations with the Ministry of Justice were often rather strained in consequence. But eventually, with Lord Cromer's benevolent neutrality, I succeeded in persuading the judicial authorities, with the result that laws relating to first offenders—release on conditional liberty and labour in lieu of imprisonment—were successively passed.

I had hoped for great results from the First Offenders Act, but the Ministry of Justice was very nervous that the power would be abused by the Egyptian Courts and I imagine must have issued special instructions to the Judges not to make any great use of the Act. At all events, it was practically a dead letter, as not more than fifty persons were treated as first offenders in any one year whilst I remained in Egypt. Yet how many thousands are annually thus dealt with in England!

The Police, too, strongly opposed release on conditional liberty as a danger to public security. It was therefore deemed advisable to make a provision that the Governors should be consulted before allowing any release and also to allow the administrative authority the right to reincarcerate, without a second conviction, any released prisoners who broke the police supervision regulations. These qualifications of the English law made it very difficult for the Prisons Department, and constant appeals had to be made to the Minister of the Interior to modify the Governors' decisions. Nevertheless, the Act was the means of releasing hundreds of prisoners annually and helped considerably—with the English prisons mark system—to maintain discipline in the prisons. I find that in my last annual report I showed that some 2,000 had been released in that particular year, and of all who were on conditional liberty only 19 had been reincarcerated during the twelve months under report.

Labour in lieu of imprisonment is, I think, an experiment which has not been tried in any country other than Egypt, and I may therefore be allowed to explain more fully the working of the scheme. Anyone who has studied penology will tell you

that a short term of imprisonment is the least satisfactory form of legal punishment that can be inflicted. Apart from the impossibility of finding any lucrative employment within prison walls for a prisoner sentenced to a short period of imprisonment, and consequent greater expense to the State, the moral effect on the prisoners themselves is very bad. Even if association with more hardened offenders can be avoided, familiarity with prison surroundings tends to lessen the deterrent effect, and the "Black Maria" and prison cells are no longer dreaded as before. In fact, a short term of imprisonment in England is amongst certain classes now spoken of as a "wash and brush up."

In Egypt the population had for generations been accustomed to be called up for forced unpaid labour at certain seasons, and it struck me that this would be a much more satisfactory punishment for the minor offenders than either fine or imprisonment. There were difficulties to adding "forced labour" as a punishment to those already provided by the Penal Code, but to allow an offender sentenced to fine, and unable to pay, to work off his debt to the State by labour in lieu of imprisonment was said to be less objectionable. A short Act was accordingly passed allowing a person sentenced to fine the option of labour in lieu, labour of six hours being equivalent to one day's imprisonment, the idea being that the remaining eighteen hours the offender might still be able to earn a livelihood if he felt so inclined. In practice the scheme has worked out quite as well as I had expected. In 1911 (my last report) out of the 15,166 who elected to work, 13,985 completed their task, 629 failed to complete, and 552 failed to report themselves. The two latter classes were subsequently imprisoned, but 7 per cent. failures is not a large number, and 14,000 persons were kept out of prison. In the cities the men are employed breaking stones and in the country mending roads and filling up stagnant pools. I doubt if English offenders would be as amenable as Egyptians, but possibly the experiment might be tried, making use of the Unions as labour centres.

I have so far described the endeavours which I made to keep the petty offenders out of prison. On the other hand I quite recognised that there were a very considerable number of old offenders (like the Dartmoor Shepherd) who could never be trusted outside prison walls. For such I created an Adult Reformatory, and as I made this subject my special study I think it deserves a chapter to itself.

CHAPTER XX.

Reformatory for Adults.

Penologists throughout the world have for years been devoting a good deal of attention to the question of habitual offenders, endeavouring to find some more rational treatment than that afforded by the ordinary procedure of criminal courts and repeated sentences of imprisonment. The International Prison Association, which was formed in Switzerland, collected a vast amount of literature on the subject, and papers were read and discussed at every Prison Congress without any very definite conclusion being apparently arrived at.

The American reformatory treatment, as exemplified in the Elmira Establishment near New York, found many enthusiastic admirers; but there were not a few, especially amongst the general public, who argued that, since the days of the prison reformer Howard, the swing of the pendulum had already carried us too far on humanitarian lines and that repression rather than reformation was what was required.

As head of the Prison Department the problem was ever before me, and owing to a very efficient "Bureau of Antecedents of Criminals," assisted by finger prints, the data at my disposal were very complete and enabled me without difficulty to classify and segregate on admission any old offender. For these prisoners there was a distinctive dress, cell confinement, harder labour, fewer visits, a longer period of imprisonment before release on conditional liberty, and generally prison life was made as irksome as possible. But I found that notwithstanding all my endeavours the number of prisoners with previous convictions steadily increased, and it became evident that some other form of treatment must be devised to cope with the evil.

I may here state that I was not very sanguine as to the efficacy of reformatory treatment when dealing with hardened adult offenders, but my frequent inspections of the Black Gang—for habituals were dressed in black—showed me that amongst these

offenders were included the physically incapable, the mentally deficient, others who were clearly addicted to drugs, and possibly some who had lapsed into criminal ways for want of sufficient moral and material equipment to keep them straight. I felt that some of these might respond to reformatory treatment. It seemed, therefore, that a further classification was required and that some means must be found for earmarking those who were professionals by choice and not of necessity. The majority of the professional class were in my opinion incorrigible, irrespective of whether their treatment should take the form of reformation or of repression. For such, as civilisation did not allow of their being quietly removed from the face of the earth, "Detention during His Highness's pleasure" appeared to be the only alternative if the community was to be protected from their depredations.

But although this was the conclusion I had arrived at, it was no easy matter to persuade the Egyptian Government to make the necessary provision in the Code; the Judiciary, too, had to be convinced, as anything in the shape of an indeterminate sentence does not as a rule find many advocates amongst Judges, and the Egyptian Bench was no exception. Benevolent neutrality was all I could expect even from my personal friends, and I saw that if my proposal was to be accepted I must create a more favourable atmosphere all round.

I made up my mind, therefore, to commence operations with ordinary sentenced prisoners. If, after that, I were to find the scheme as likely to prove a success I should be in a stronger position to satisfy the Judges and get the Ministry of Justice to make the necessary change in the law. I accordingly collected in one of the prisons a number of old offenders who had been sentenced to two years and upwards, and subjected them to a reformatory treatment on the lines I had worked out for application later should I succeed in getting the necessary modification in the Code accepted. As far as one could judge the experiment proved entirely successful although there was no special inducement to offer the prisoners, I mean as regards early release; all I could do was to relax discipline and grant other amenities to induce them to make a special effort and to benefit by the teaching offered.

After the second year of treatment on these lines I saw that I was in a position to give the Judicial Bench an object-lesson, and accordingly invited some twenty of the Assize Judges to visit the

establishment and see for themselves what had been accomplished. The happy thought also struck me to provide a lunch in the train on the way down! Whether it was the lunch or my powers of persuasion I cannot say, but from that visit onwards there was no longer any opposition on the part of the Bench, the necessary modification in the law was made, and the only difficulty I afterwards experienced was to find accommodation for the steady flow of habituals whom each Court of Assize sent to the Establishment.

I will now proceed to describe the scheme as accepted and the results attained up to the date when I left Egypt in 1913. In the first place it was necessary to define an "habitual" who could be sent to the Establishment on an indeterminate sentence. It was decided that an offender who had undergone two sentences of imprisonment of one year or upwards, or three or more terms of less than a year for certain offences, was an habitual qualified for an indeterminate period of detention should the Courts think fit. The sentences not to exceed six years, or in case of reconviction ten years, release within that period to rest with the Minister of Justice on reports as to conduct and proficiency in any handicraft taught at the Establishment, the said reports to be made by a Board of Visitors, the idea being that the average habitual by good conduct and aptitude would be in a position to claim release after four years.

It was considered that within this period, with the special treatment which the habitual would receive, the reformatory authorities would have ample opportunities of reforming certain individuals and classifying others as mentally or physically incapable or incorrigible as the case might be. The question of the future treatment of the mentally or physically incapable was left for consideration later. The further detention of another period of ten years if reconvicted after release was a special provision for the incorrigibles. In their case there would be no further attempt to reform; should they be reconvicted they would simply be detained, and as they would have acquired a handicraft during their first incarceration they would be in a position to earn their subsistence, an undoubted consideration for the State.

For each of the habituals committed to the Establishment, in addition to their criminal antecedents furnished by the police, a special dossier was prepared. In this dossier an endeavour was

made to get a complete life-history of each individual prior to his committal. He was also thoroughly overhauled by both the medical officer of the Establishment and the principal medical officer of the Department to ascertain what physical and mental ailments (if any) existed.

The habitual's "reformatory history" then commenced by his being kept in cell confinement for a period of probation, one year or nine months, dependent on his conduct and progress as a craftsman. The utility of this period of probation was not recognised by some of the "visitors," and may also be questioned by my readers, but personally I attached great importance to this period of cell confinement—in the first place on account of its repressive character as a punishment, and again on account of the opportunities it gave the officials of the Establishment of studying the habitual's character and aptitude. It was, too, so cordially disliked by the inmates that it encouraged them to make a special effort to reach the association stage.

Whilst in cell confinement the habituals were constantly visited by their instructors and spent also one hour in school. There was also one hour of exercise which consisted in working the capstans of one of the many pumps required for water or drainage. Their time was therefore fully occupied. Each individual received a small weekly wage which was increased at each stage of advancement; good conduct and school proficiency also carried with it pecuniary rewards. Stars on the "libdahs" (caps) indicated the class reached in the school, and stripes on either arm, conduct and proficiency in their respective crafts. Stripes on the breast denoted the number of years spent in the Establishment. There were also black, blue and white cotton garments worn by each class respectively. It was therefore easy to distinguish the progress made and to what extent each individual was working out his own salvation. But the dossiers showed the official record and also the result of the half-yearly examinations made by inspectors who were not connected with the Establishment.

If desired, half of the weekly wage was paid in tokens and half was banked pending release. These tokens were accepted at the canteen, where small luxuries could be purchased by certain classes to vary the monotony of the regular prison ration.

We had, of course, great difficulties with the physically incapable (many of whom were nearly blind), and with the mentally defi-

cient, to say nothing of those addicted to drugs no longer obtainable. The malingerers and those who pretended to be incapable of acquiring even the rudiments of a handicraft were also not a few in number at the first, hoping thus to escape the period of cell probation and to be relegated to the domestic duties of the prison, and especially of the prison garden, whither the then hopeless cases eventually drifted. But when the wastrels found that no advantage was thus gained, and that, on the contrary, it meant deprivation of certain amenities in the Establishment and postponement of release till the full period of their sentence had expired, it was remarkable what efforts they made. In fact, much of my time when inspecting the Establishment was spent in listening to appeals from those who had been classed by their instructors as hopeless.

But this improved state of affairs was only reached after the suppression of a very serious mutiny during the second year. The Establishment, too, got a rather bad name owing to the discovery of some false coins which, with the connivance of some of the officials, were being fabricated by one or two who had proved themselves good craftsmen—too good, in fact!

But, notwithstanding these setbacks, the general improvement of the inmates during the last three years that I remained in Egypt can, I think, only be described as very satisfactory, if not marvellous. Some who were classed as hopeless degenerates improved wonderfully, and the crafts acquired by others left no doubt as to their ability to earn an honest livelihood on release should they wish to go straight. What surprised me most was the facility with which some who were well on in life learned to read and write, and evidently took a pleasure in the limited amount of book work attempted to be taught at the Establishment.

My readers will probably say this is all very interesting, but how about the result? As, prior to my leaving Egypt, no one had been in detention long enough to qualify for release, I am unable to state what percentage were eventually classed as successes. But of the 400 who had completed the period of probation 190 were reported as doing well, 40 fairly well, 22 slight progress, 60 malingerers, and 88 as physically unfit or degenerates and incapable of earning an honest livelihood.

But, whatever the final verdict will be as regards those who were apparently doing all that was expected of them, the institu-

tion must prove a success from my point of view, as the community will have been relieved of the presence of these offenders for a considerable period, and the Courts should have no hesitation in inflicting upon them the further period of ten years should they again return to their evil ways. Presumably, too, the Government will see the necessity of making some provision for the mentally and physically unfit other than inflicting repeated sentences of imprisonment on them as at present.

It may be argued that this long period of detention, with the pay of the extra staff provided for the purpose, costs the Department considerably more than ordinary imprisonment. This is undoubtedly true; £9 5s. against £18 5s. was tabled as the average annual cost of a prisoner and of an inmate of the Reformatory respectively the last year I was in Egypt. But against this we may write off the expense the State would have incurred in arresting and trying the same individual repeatedly during the same period had he been a free agent, to say nothing of the saving to the community in the shape of stolen property!

I hope that the details I have given will suffice to enable those who may be interested in the subject to form an opinion as to the scheme and its efficacy.

I did not expect miracles; on the contrary, I anticipated that of the six or seven thousand persons who are annually admitted to prisons in Egypt on reconviction, probably one-half are incorrigible and should be more or less permanently under lock or key. But I calculated that if we could get some sentenced for an indeterminate period and the remainder either flogged or provided for in asylums or almshouses, we should have gone a long way towards ridding the community of these pests.

Having once got the principle accepted, the only difficulty was to provide the necessary accommodation. Had I remained in Egypt my intention was to utilise the existing prisons, or portions thereof, as special Reformatory Establishments as the number of persons sentenced to indeterminate sentences increased.

I need not say that I was very anxious to persuade Lord Kitchener that my method of dealing with habituals was a success. It was with considerable difficulty that I persuaded Lord Kitchener to visit the Establishment, as the system in no way appealed to him. I had carefully rehearsed the programme, hoping to impress his Lordship, and I anxiously watched his

countenance as we proceeded. But I regret to say that I failed entirely, and all the acknowledgment I got was, "Very interesting, but it is a waste of money to attempt to reform; you had much better get them out on one of my roads!"

I endeavoured to prove to Lord Kitchener that by establishing this Reformatory I not only made a serious attempt to reform those who could be reformed, but I at the same time relieved the community of the incorrigibles for a long period. I pointed out that no Court of Justice would sentence offenders repeatedly convicted of these *délits* to a long, indeterminate period of work on roads; but that the Courts did commit them to an Establishment which was called a Reformatory, where prisoners were taught a means of livelihood on their release. It was, however, quite useless to argue the point. Lord Kitchener, from the early days when he was Sirdar and Governor-General of the Soudan, only looked on prisoners in the light of so much free labour for public works.

I can claim, however, to have created the pioneer Adult Reformatory on this side of the Atlantic, and I am confident, no matter what Lord Kitchener and others of that school have said to the contrary, that the indeterminate sentence is the weapon with which all civilised countries will eventually combat the habitual offender.

CHAPTER XXI.

Juvenile Reformatory.

If some have doubts as to the efficacy of an Adult Reformatory, I think all are agreed as to the utility, if not necessity, of a similar establishment for juveniles. I think, too, that all (and they are many from all parts of the world) who have visited the Reformatory at Ghizeh have gone away greatly impressed with the good work which is being carried on in that institution. Well they may be, as the actual building and equipment cost upwards of £75,000, and the annual expenditure is not far short of £14,000. This Reformatory for Juveniles has been my hobby for years, and I will now endeavour to show that my labour has not been in vain and that the Egyptian Government is getting good value for the money expended.

The Reformatory was started by my predecessor on very modest lines in Alexandria. His idea was that it should be a philanthropic institution, subsidised by the Government and run by himself as a private individual independent of his being head of the Prisons Department. An old fort in Alexandria was adapted for the purpose at a cost of about £100. Apart from the building costing next to nothing, I doubt if any more unsuitable accommodation could have been found for the reformation of juveniles. No sun could penetrate to the rooms utilised as dormitories and workshops, and through ventilation was conspicuous by its absence, added to which the boys were never allowed outside the courtyard. It was, in fact, a gloomy prison, with no redeeming feature that I could see. I found, too, that as far as subscriptions were concerned there was no voluntary effort, and beyond the Government subsidy there was nothing to meet the annual cost for maintenance.

Sir John Scott, who was Judicial Adviser at the time, was one of the so-called Board of Visitors, and I had no trouble in persuading him that, if we were to do any good, radical changes in the accommodation would have to be introduced. I accord-

ingly transferred the Reformatory to Cairo and housed the boys temporarily in an old prison store till I could find something more suitable. As the numbers increased, I added to the accommodation, but eventually had to make another move to a second old prison at Ghizeh, which I had purposely vacated for the use of the boys. Finally, having cultivated very cordial relations with the new Financial Adviser, I succeeded in obtaining the necessary credit for the present building, which took nearly two years to complete.

By this time, though, I was getting so many credits to commence new prison buildings which required further credits the following year, that the lesser lights in the Finance Ministry were getting very uneasy, and all on the look-out to try and catch me tripping! Putting up the new Reformatory to public tender, without all sorts of formalities required by the Accounts Branch at the Finance Ministry, seemed to offer the opportunity required, and I received a letter one morning calling for explanation and threatening all sorts of pains and penalties! I strolled round to see the Under-Secretary, and was received with the most freezing official manner—"We are determined to put a stop to such irregularities," etc. I waited till he had finished, and then produced my authority written on a half-sheet of notepaper from a club in London: "Dear Coles,—Carry on with the Reformatory contract. I will find the credit required." I heard nothing more as to my breach of Finance regulations, but I believe the Financial Adviser received a first-class wigging from his Under-Secretary for *his* irregularity!

Anyhow, the Reformatory was completed, and will ever remain as a monument of my ability or extravagance, whichever way you like to look at it! I do not pretend that it could not be improved on, but I do maintain that I did not attempt to build till I had seen for myself many reformatories in England as well as on the Continent. The County Council School for Waifs and Strays near London and the Belgian Reformatory at Ypres (alas! poor Ypres!) were the best I saw, and I gained many ideas from both. Other reformatories in England, notably "Redhill," follow the "cottage homes" rather than the "barrack" system, but "homes" were out of the question in Egypt for a variety of reasons.

In following the barrack system, however, my endeavour was at the same time to isolate groups of 25 to 30 boys in huts

radiating from a central courtyard. Thus I ensured easier supervision from the centre and avoided borrowed air and light for the boys in their dormitories. Boys under and over thirteen were completely separated from each other, there being an Upper and Lower School.

Another feature in the school was the half-doors for lavatories, etc., there being no hole or corner where the boys could get out of sight of their guardians or of each other. The dormitories were provided with electric lights controlled from outside, so at night the guardian on duty had only to switch on the light to obtain a full view of the boys in each dormitory.

The class-rooms and workshops are in the same building, the idea being to keep the boys always under control and enable them to pass from the one to the other without leaving the building. The original intention was that all the class-rooms should be on the first floor and workshops on the ground floor, but this had to be modified, as the noise of the workshops interfered with the boys in class. It was accordingly arranged to keep all the workshops in the left wing and the class-rooms in the right. With this exception, I cannot see any mistake in design, and if I had to rebuild I should most certainly follow the same plan of construction.

The Girls' Section, too, I consider, is admirably adapted for its purpose. At one time I had intended that the girls should be made use of in connection with the domestic duties of the boys, such as cookery and washing, and the buildings were designed for this purpose; but I found that such duties took up too much of the girls' time and were of little use to them in the matter of learning housecraft, so the boys now take it in turn to assist the cook and in general cleaning up, and experience has shown that this does not interfere too much with their training in industries.

As soon as the boys had been transferred to Cairo, my next consideration was the best means of making the Reformatory a school and not a prison, and with this object always in view the new regulations were drafted. A time-table was drawn up which kept the boys pretty busy from early morning to sunset, with about a couple of hours for recreation. The scheme was that the elder boys (over thirteen) should have only four hours' workshop and two hours' school, and the smaller boys (under thirteen) two hours' workshop and four hours' school. There was one hour of drill and gymnastics, and the remainder of

the day was spent in cleaning up, meals, and recreation. The masters in charge of the classes seemed to consider that six hours' teaching was all that they could give with advantage. The instructors in the workshops worked rather short hours, but in addition to the time actually occupied with the boys they had to set up the material, etc. Quarterly examinations were held, and the results recorded in the general register, showing the history of each boy. At the same time the boy's weight and height were also noted, so that it was easy at any moment to see what progress a boy was making. If there was any falling off in either school or workshops it could be seen at once if the boy's general health was in any way responsible.

In the early days when I was in the Police I had always taken a special interest in summary punishments, and, in the Police Regulations, I had drawn up a regular scale of offences and punishments, leaving very little to the individual officer who was inflicting the punishment—at least, if the summary punishment scheduled was not strictly followed, the reason had to be recorded. A similar system was applied at the reformatory, and so automatically did it work that a boy offender might have told himself off if he had been asked to do so.

At the same time dormitory discipline amongst the boys themselves was recognised, and corporal punishment inflicted by the boy N.C.O.'s in charge of the dormitory was winked at. The Reformatory was the only school in Egypt in which corporal punishment was and is allowed, as for some reason or other the educational authorities have pandered to the absurd prejudice in vogue in the country against this description of punishment.

But corporal punishment was by no means the only method of enforcing discipline at the Reformatory. The canteen, the weekly half-holidays, and the annual leave all played an important part. Pocket money, or rather tokens, which might be spent at the canteen in sweets and other juvenile delights, was stopped when boys misbehaved. This pocket allowance was augmented by each good conduct stripe a boy earned. On the other hand the loss of a stripe carried with it the loss of pocket money and other privileges in the way of the half-holiday outing. The loss of many marks for very serious offences, or repeated paltry offences, meant also the deprivation of the annual holiday in the summer.

Certain of the boys were allowed out unattended and the

remainder went for a route march on the weekly half-holiday. When I started the boys going out alone, I was told that it was a bold experiment, but nothing happened and the evening roll-call found all the boys present. When I decided on the annual holiday for the boys who had homes to go to the wiseacres shook their heads still more, but it worked all right and eventually those who had no homes to go to were also provided for.

A history of the Reformatory without any mention of the band is certainly incomplete. The Secretary of the Prisons Department, Papazian Bey, was largely responsible for the success of the Reformatory and more especially of the band—or rather bands, for we had a brass band as well as a drum and fife. At one time I had some thoughts of suppressing the band, as I found it difficult to work in the time required to teach the boys music as well as an industry. Papazian Bey, who is an accomplished musician, was so upset at the idea that I was doing away with the band that he drew up a long memorandum on the advantages of music, and this I found on my office table one morning. I may state that I had, on reconsideration, quite made up my mind to sacrifice a handicraft rather than the band and had arranged to teach the boys music in the workshop hours. But I could not resist the temptation to get a rise out of Papazian Bey, so I wrote a few lines at the foot of his memorandum stating that though music had undoubtedly power to "soothe the savage," it had also an influence which might lead to evil results. I cited the fact that I knew some charming ladies who would squeeze my hand after an opera, which they certainly would not do under ordinary circumstances; further, that cases had been known of unscrupulous "artistes" who had succeeded in getting undue influence over emotional women by their singing or powers as musicians. Altogether, not being musical myself, I was doubtful whether the "cons" did not outweigh the "pros"! But nevertheless, hoping that the Reformatory boys' talents would not be developed to this extent I had decided to continue the band! A silly joke, and I fear that Papazian Bey took it too seriously.

But the feature of the band was really the bagpipes. I was told by the Scots sergeant who taught them that he had never come across more apt pupils. I suppose it is that the music is not unlike the Arab music (I am not a Scotsman!). Anyhow, when the band played "out" there was always a demand for the

pipes as well. In after years the trouble was to limit the outings of the band to play at marriages and other family festivals so dear to the Egyptian, notwithstanding that the charge for the band was £3 3s. and all expenses.

My one-time doubts as to whether the ability to play an instrument in the band would suffice to give a boy an honest livelihood on release were soon set at rest, and I am told that one of the Cairo bands consists entirely of Reformatory boys, as when a boy was discharged arrangements were made to provide him with an instrument at a very cheap rate.

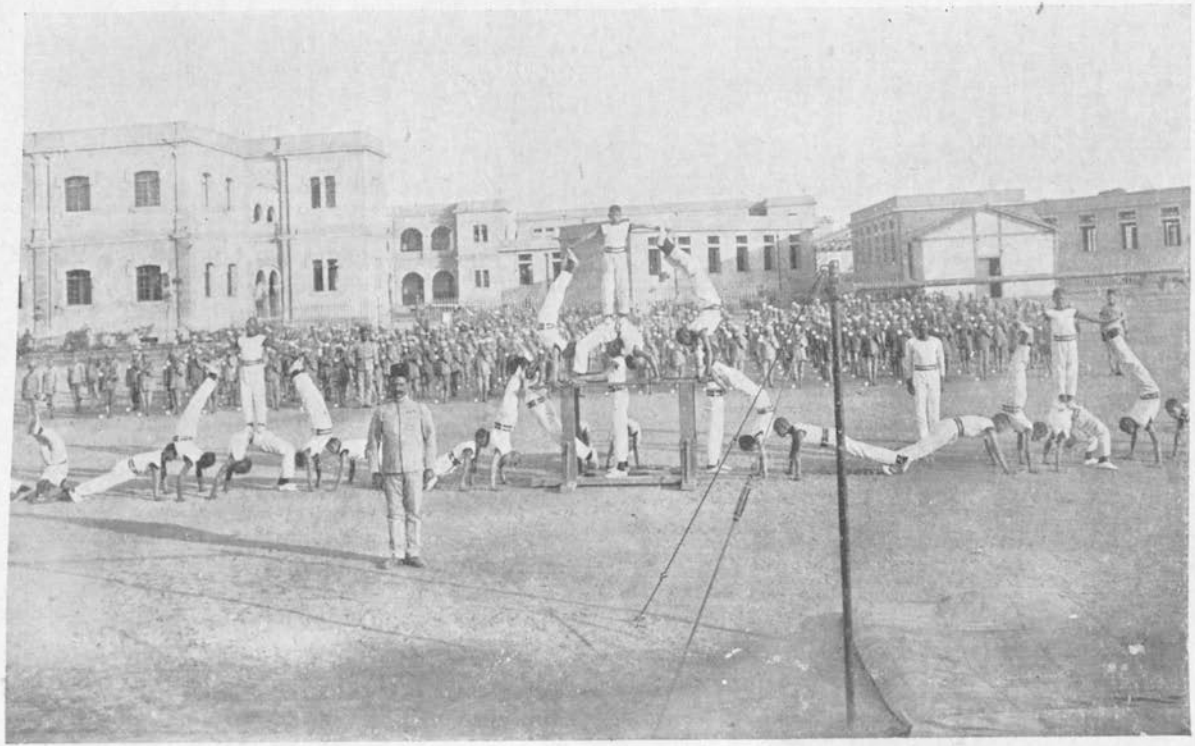
The other trades taught at the Reformatory were carpentry, fitters, tailoring, whitesmiths, shoemaking, printing and bookbinding. All the printing required by the Prisons Department was done at the Reformatory, and it was wonderful how skilful the boys became in a very short time.

Farming and gardening were also taught, with perhaps the least satisfactory results; perhaps owing to the fact that it was usually the least competent boys who drifted into these sections and the individual progress was also very difficult to test.

The indeterminate sentence plays a very important part in the reformation of juveniles as it does of adults. In the old days it was a common practice for the Courts to sentence juveniles for periods of two years, quite useless for reformation and too long for a punishment.

Boys also spent considerable periods in prison awaiting disposal. This has all been stopped, and now juveniles are rarely if ever seen inside a prison in Egypt. Boys who are sentenced to be whipped by the Courts get their birching at the prison, though outside the actual precincts. I arranged the whipping to take place at the prison as I thought it as well that the boys should have unpleasant recollections of the prison itself.

I fear that I am wearying my readers with all these details, and I cannot plead novelty as I did when describing the adult establishment. From what I have seen in Egypt though, I know that England contains hundreds of enthusiastic workers who are much interested in anything connected with juvenile criminals and their reformation. Voluntary effort—what does that not cover, and how can we living in England ever be grateful enough to the workers of the middle and upper classes who year in and year out give their time and money without any hope of reward or even recognition? It is only when one has passed one's life



REFORMATORY BOYS, CAIRO, 1913

abroad and come home to end one's days that one is able to appreciate all that voluntary effort accomplishes.

But at the same time I cannot help asking myself the question, Do we not in England rely too much on voluntary aid? Reformatories and similar establishments: would not they be more efficient and better administered by some central authority as the Prisons Board, or as in India by the Educational Department, rather than by inspection and Government subsidy as at present? Why should there not be a Board for Reformatory and Truant Schools as there is an Asylums and Prisons Board? Why should the one be left to voluntary effort more than the other?

I remember at one time suggesting to Lord Cromer that I should hand over the Reformatory to the educational authorities. His reply was, "You will spoil the whole show if you do." He did not mean by this any reflection on the educational people and on their more scientific methods, but simply that I personally happened to have evolved, in his opinion, the right method of educating and reforming little criminals. But, as a matter of principle, reformatories should be administered by an educational rather than a prison official, or better still by an expert who has made treatment of juvenile criminals his special study. At the same time utilise your voluntary workers as visitors, as magistrates are utilised in England in the prisons as visiting justices. I doubt this system costing the State much more in the end than subsidies, while the general administration would be standardised far more than is at present possible.

As far as one can judge from statistics the Reformatory in Egypt is fulfilling the purpose for which it was created. After release the boys are kept under supervision (benevolent) for two years and it is found that only 15 per cent. are reconvicted in that period. There can, too, be no doubt as to the correctness of these figures, as the system of finger prints and bureau of antecedents makes it much easier for us to trace the criminal history of all "admissions" to prison than it is in England. From 60 per cent. to 70 per cent. continue to work at the handicrafts they learned whilst at the Reformatory. In England the successes reported are as good, if not better, but then the English reformatory boys enlist in the Army and Navy in large numbers, which undoubtedly assists the maintenance of a good percentage.

No comparison can be made as to cost, as the necessities of life are so much less in Egypt than in England. But it may be

of interest to some to learn that the actual cost per head worked out at under £18 10s., and this included all expenditure, salary of teachers and instructors and the pocket money given to the boys as well. I may mention also that half this pocket money is banked for the boys and given to them on their release to enable them to purchase tools, etc., or other means of gaining a livelihood.

The Reformatory was, as already stated, my especial hobby, and I have every reason to be satisfied with the result of my endeavours to make the school a success. I am not ashamed also to admit that, on my last visit to the school to wish the boys good-bye, the lump in my throat took a lot of swallowing as I received their salute for the last time and the band struck up "Auld Lang Syne." "Happy to meet, sorry to part, happy to meet again," was inscribed on an album they presented to me, and most assuredly on my heart.

CHAPTER XXII.

Review of Prison Policy.

If my efforts were appreciated by the boys, and possibly by the prisoners, I fear that I cannot claim that either the late Lord Kitchener or the Egyptian Government was altogether satisfied with the measures I introduced. But I may add that no one could have been kinder than was Lord Kitchener to me personally, whatever he may have thought of my methods of administration.

The trouble was that Lord Kitchener's prison policy and my own were as far apart as the poles. Lord Kitchener held certain views as to the treatment of prisoners, and nothing could persuade him that other methods were worth consideration. I was equally positive that my system was the right one to follow! I have repeatedly discussed the prison question with Lord Kitchener, and laughingly told him that I was thankful I had my chance of creating the Department under Lord Cromer's regime, otherwise the new prisons would never have been built. "If you had not wasted so much over prisons I should have had money to spend on more deserving objects," was the reply I received from Lord Kitchener.

Holding these views, perhaps it is not surprising that in the last annual report submitted from Egypt in 1914 Lord Kitchener states, "All who have hitherto studied criminality in Egypt concur in the opinion, confirmed by the increasing percentage of crime committed by old offenders, that the prison system as hitherto constituted has been inadequate as a deterrent to crime." Lord Kitchener did not suggest how this system could be improved, but went on to say that the Minister of the Interior, by virtue of his powers, had now transferred 1,000 convicts to the Soudan, and his lordship implies from this that some good result might be expected. This report, which I saw for the first time a few months ago, was written after I left Egypt, and although my influence with Lord Kitchener was considerably less than in former years, I am yet confident that had I still been Inspector-

General of Prisons this paragraph in his report would never have been written and the 1,000 convicts would never have been sent to the Soudan, in virtue of any power the Minister of the Interior possessed or fancied he possessed.

In the first place Lord Kitchener was misinformed when he stated that "crime" (I presume that Lord Kitchener used the word in the French sense) "committed by old offenders is on the increase." I find that in the last report (1911) which I submitted the returns showed that out of 4,604 penal servitude convicts only 94 had previously undergone a sentence of that description. It would appear, therefore, that one dose of penal servitude is a sufficient deterrent to prevent the repetition of a "crime"; the fact being that brigandage, robbery, arson, murder, etc., for which penal servitude is usually awarded, are not, as a rule, committed by old offenders or professionals.

The more serious of the *délits*, such as house-breaking, theft, forgery, etc., which would be termed indictable offences in England, are undoubtedly committed by old offenders and are—or were—increasing, and it was probably these offenders to whom the officer who compiled the report for Lord Kitchener referred, but unfortunately for the report it was not these habituals that Lord Kitchener transported to the Soudan!

I have shown in a previous chapter how an Adult Reformatory was created to provide for these habituals. I have also described how I failed to get Lord Kitchener to take any interest in the scheme or in the reformation of criminals.

In transferring penal servitude convicts to the Soudan, Lord Kitchener was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that when he was Governor-General my predecessor had placed 1,000 convicts at his (Lord Kitchener's) disposal for the railway and public works. These convicts were very useful to Lord Kitchener, as the Egyptian Government (Prisons Department) paid for their maintenance, whilst the Soudan Government benefited by their labour being free. When I took charge of the Department in 1897 I pointed out to Lord Cromer that the transfer of convicts to the Soudan really amounted to a sentence of transportation being tacked on to the ordinary sentence, as the Soudan was practically a foreign country with separate laws and an Executive of its own. I pointed out further that the Courts having committed the convicts to the custody of the Prisons Department I did not see how I could legally transfer them to another authority.

Lord Cromer was at first not at all pleased with my having raised the question, but eventually agreed to the convicts' return. I do not think that Lord Kitchener ever quite forgave me for my share in the transaction, for he made use of my own Decree to get the convicts sent back to the Soudan, hoisting me, as it were, by my own petard!

The particular article made use of to give the retransfer even the semblance of legality was one I especially had inserted to enable me to work prisoners in labour camps, as in India. But to work prisoners in camps in Egypt proper is one thing, and to transport them to camps in the Soudan is quite another! Whilst I cannot but admire the ingenuity of the official who devised this scheme, I am curious to hear what the Ministry of Justice had to say on the subject, as presumably the Ministry of Justice was consulted. I wonder also what the High Court in Bombay would say if the Executive interpreted the similar provision in the Indian Act as authorising the transport of prisoners to distant parts of India, or the Andamans, irrespectively of whether they had been sentenced to transportation or not! In Egypt verily nothing is impossible.

I believe that I am correct in stating that when the Penal Code was revised the question of adding transportation as a punishment was discussed and the proposal rejected for some reason or other. If it is now thought advisable to transport convicts to the Soudan, transportation as a punishment should be added to the Code; it certainly should not be left to the Ministry of the Interior to select prisoners for the Soudan as an administrative measure, as such a course would be sure to lead to abuse sooner or later.

To make imprisonment sufficiently deterrent is the trouble all the world over and is by no means confined to Egypt. Of course, if we do not limit ourselves to civilised methods the task is easy. Let us see how offenders were dealt with in the early part of the nineteenth century when Lane visited Egypt. In the *Manners and Customs of Modern Egypt* we are told that although amputation of limbs as prescribed by the Koran was no longer in vogue, still repeated offences were always punished by death and a first offence by a severe bastinadoing. The Pasha, too, had a summary way of disposing of cases coming before him—"a peculiar horizontal movement of his hand"—leaving the offender in no doubt as to what was to become of his head!

It may be admitted that our own system of justice about

that period was, too, somewhat primitive, as sheep stealing was punishable by death, and the skeletons of highwaymen in chains adorned many of our cross-roads, but whereas in England a more civilised administration of justice may be said to have commenced from that period, the conditions we found in Egypt in 1882 were not far removed from what Lane saw fifty years earlier.

Lord Milner, too, tells us how in 1884 the Legislative Council suggested an amendment of the Brigandage Decree making crucifixion one of the forms of punishment, and prescribing how a spear in the side (terribly reminiscent of Calvary) would finish the job supposing the condemned man did not die at once!

I can quote a case of capital punishment which actually occurred in 1883 and which I was sent to inquire into. A murderer had been sentenced to death under the old law, and blood-money having been refused by the murdered man's next-of-kin, the condemned man was decapitated in the presence of the Mudir, after some half-dozen strokes with a somewhat blunt sword; the murdered man's mother then rushed forward and washed her hands in the blood!

Bastinadoing, too, was still, of course, the standard punishment and usually administered by the police without trial. I think, therefore, that the Egyptians ("who have studied criminal returns" and condemned my prison administration!) may be excused for not appreciating up-to-date prisons and reformatories only twenty years later!!

At the same time I must admit that decapitation or hanging is far more efficacious and less costly than the methods which I introduced. But, after all, we did not go to Egypt to follow the Egyptian system of justice of earlier years! Rule out such methods, and I contend that my prison cells are far more deterrent than extra-mural labour on the roads after Lord Kitchener's idea.

Again, have we exhausted all civilised methods? Why have we for the last thirty years allowed ourselves to be influenced by the feelings of the younger generation of Egyptians who object to corporal punishment? Why is there no Whipping Act in Egypt as in India or even as in England? Further, why is it that, although there were upwards of 800 murders recorded by Lord Kitchener in 1913, 27 capital punishments are spoken of as being above the average? Instead of attributing the unsatisfactory state of crime to the true causes referred to in Chapters XVI. and XVII., why single out the Prisons for attack?

It is very difficult for me to defend my own administration without having my observations interpreted as a reflection on Lord Kitchener, who, alas! is no longer with us. But, if the truth be told, I fancy that public security questions had no longer the same interest as formerly for Lord Kitchener, neither had prison administration, beyond a general idea that prisoners were intended for public works, and that he regarded my treatment as too advanced for Egypt. I had the greatest difficulty in getting Lord Kitchener inside a prison, and then he did not take the slightest interest in what he saw. Yet I have been with him when he insisted on getting out of his car and walking some distance in the sun to see a small cotton market or landing stage for grain. He never was happier than when at Sakah, an estate of the Domains in Lower Egypt, seeing for himself the result of drainage schemes which Birch Pasha was carrying out; and his mania for road-making was, I think, the cause of Sir Paul Harvey resigning his post as Financial Adviser!

No scheme was too small for Lord Kitchener's personal supervision, provided he considered that the fellaheen would benefit. He was also deeply interested in town-planning, and one of the Mudirs, a regular spendthrift of local funds, was singled out for special mention and promotion because he laid out new streets at Tanta irrespective of cost! If Lord Kitchener had returned to Cairo, I am sure that the whole feature of the place would have been changed: with gardens and open spaces surrounding the principal mosques. I one day found him studying a map of Cairo endeavouring to find some means of improving the approach to the railway station, and also with a view of erecting in some open space near the station the gigantic statue of Rameses so well known to tourists visiting Bedrashen.

But if the subject did not interest Lord Kitchener it was left to others. When I found that I was not likely to get any support from his Lordship on prison matters I thought it best to let well alone. If he had taken up the question seriously I felt that all my pet schemes might be scrapped, and, what was worse, I should have been obliged to acquiesce in and approve of the wreckage, but as long as I kept quiet and did not worry I should not, in all probability, be interfered with, as for the moment Lord Kitchener was not sufficiently interested to press his own views.

I have no doubt that this was one of the reasons why I was assisted out of the country. For the sake of old times, Lord

Kitchener did not like to hurt my official feelings. With a new head of the Department and no preconceived ideas, prison administration might be expected to be more in keeping with Lord Kitchener's views. How little we all realised what was to follow, and how Lord Kitchener himself was going to be called away to take a leading part in the world's drama, and that Egypt would see him no more.

But let us discuss this question of transportation versus penal servitude on its merits, irrespective of Lord Kitchener's influence, which would have carried any proposal, sound or otherwise. Undoubtedly, in the old days transportation to the White Nile, as it was called, was looked on as equivalent to a death penalty, as those who were sent to the White Nile seldom returned. But the Soudan generally and the White Nile in particular have now lost much of their terror, as men from the Egyptian Army are constantly going and coming. Convicts who have served in the Soudan have actually petitioned me to return there, preferring it to Tura.

For the first five years I think that penal servitude in the quarries at Tura is a severer punishment than public works in the Soudan, where the discipline is generally slacker. It is after this first five years that penal servitude at Tura becomes less and less deterrent and is probably preferred to the Soudan.

In Egypt the Code lays down that penal servitude shall consist of labour of the severest description, prisoners working in leg-irons. But prison experts will tell you that, whether in Egypt or elsewhere, everlasting labour of the severest description cannot be carried out in practice. Divines of the present day have long ceased to preach of an eternal hell, and it is presumed that, as "there are many mansions" in heaven, so there must be degrees of punishment in hell. Similarly, in all penal servitude prisons there are, and must be, degrees of labour; even a "lifer" has something to hope for.

In Europe, with a limited number of "lifers," the difficulty does not arise, but in a country like Egypt, with annually 4,000 heinous crimes, of which 800 odd are murders, and practically no capital punishments, the penal servitude establishments are overflowing with "lifers." These and other long-sentenced prisoners, having come through the mill of the quarries, are now relegated to the labour of the workshops. The casual observers, or amateur prison administrators, seeing all these men

comparatively contented in the shops, jump to the conclusion that the Egyptian form of penal servitude is not sufficiently deterrent.

By transportation you avoid this difficulty, or, rather, you put it out of sight, for in a penal settlement, supposing that it is run on civilised lines, eternal punishment is no more possible than it is in a penal servitude prison. After a time transported men are, within certain geographical limits, practically free. If you have a penal settlement like the Andamans this does not matter so much, but Colonies like Australia object to having settlements of undesirables in their midst. There are, I believe, parts of the Soudan, and other outlying places detached from Egypt, where the demand for labour is so great that objection as to the character of the labourers need not be considered. The solution that suggested itself to me was that the end of a sentence rather than the commencement should be passed in some such penal settlements in the Soudan or elsewhere.

In the last Prisons Report that I submitted, after pointing out that the number of "lifers" alone exceeded 1,000 and was increasing, I suggested as follows :—

"Possibly the solution may be found in allowing convicts who have completed half their sentence to remain on parole in the Kharga Oasis. It must be remembered that the large majority of these convicts are not criminals by profession, and many would make excellent immigrants with entirely new surroundings. Some, I have little doubt, would elect to remain in the Oasis on completion of their sentence." And this proposal would apply equally to the Soudan, if the Soudan Government were agreeable.

I hope that I have shown that whatever I may think of the arbitrary action of the authorities in transporting prisoners to the Soudan as an administrative measure, my mind is quite open as to the relative merits of penal servitude and transportation as a judicial punishment. In fact, there is much to be said in favour of transportation.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Prison Discipline and Mutinies.

Judging from the applications I had from all sorts and conditions of tourists for permission to visit the Convict Establishment at Tura, near Cairo, there must be a large number of persons in England who take a special interest in prisoners apart from idle curiosity.

What appeared to strike these visitors more than anything else was the absence of anything in the shape of arms in the hands of the warders, and the way we moved about amongst the convicts without apparently taking any precaution for our personal safety; secondly, the amenable way in which all orders were carried out by the convicts. In this respect we differed entirely from the Indian gaol system, where an armed escort invariably accompanies a visitor or inspecting officer.

This policy of unarmed warders was deliberately adopted by me in the interests of both the warders and the prisoners. What I felt was that if the warder was unarmed and had only his fists to make use of, if he lost his temper a prisoner would not retaliate, but would probably only close with the warder and prevent him from making use of his fists; whereas if a prisoner closed with an armed warder and succeeded in disarming him, the result might be fatal and might end in the warder being badly wounded if not killed and the prisoner subsequently shot. I say shot subsequently, as, although the warders actually in touch with the convicts are unarmed, there were always armed warders close at hand, and the convicts knew from experience that firearms were used without hesitation if and when the necessity arose. The visitor at the prison did not see these armed men and did not know of the shootings which occasionally occurred, hence his surprise! I made no exception for ordinary visits, but when Lord Cromer, or any other person of note, visited the establishment, he was surrounded all the time by armed men, though the arms were not apparent.

During the fifteen years I was head of the Prisons, although there were periodical mutinies necessitating the use of fire-arms, I can recall only two instances where unarmed warders were attacked with murderous intent. I can, therefore, claim that, judged by the result, my system of working was sound. I must admit, though, that when in the quarries, surrounded by convicts with every description of crowbar, and no armed assistance within reach of me in case of need, I have sometimes wondered whether the object-lesson I was giving the unarmed warders was going to work out all right. Nothing untoward ever happened.

I think it was Lord Dufferin who likened Egypt to a girls' school and laughed at the idea of brigandage. Lord Dufferin was wrong, and the casual observer, too, very soon finds out his mistake if he thinks that Egyptian convicts are always amenable! Every now and again, generally after intervals of four or five years, a spirit of unrest would grow amongst the convicts, which would be duly exploited by the worst characters till open mutiny was the result.

The prison officials as a rule knew what was coming, and it usually took the form of the convicts refusing to leave the prison yard after parading for work in the early morning. What generally happened then was that the unarmed warders were hustled and driven from the yard, and the armed guard took possession of the walls till I arrived on the scene—for I was invariably sent for—so that if shooting were necessary the responsibility was mine.

On the first occasion when this occurred (in the old prison at Tura, soon after I took charge) I arrived to find that 100 "lifers" had broken up their beds and armed themselves in addition with other miscellaneous weapons and threatened to kill the first warder who attempted to enter the barrack in which they had barricaded themselves. The remainder of the prisoners were very noisy and excited, but had not actually been violent. I told the ringleaders, through a grated window, that I would give them one hour to submit. At the end of that time I had not the remotest intention of allowing any of the warders to be knocked about, but I would then commence shooting them till they did submit.

As it was the first time I had had to suppress a mutiny of the kind, I went back to Cairo and told the authorities exactly what I proposed to do. I was referred from one to the other, each in turn saying, "I leave it to you, partner." On my return to the prison I found the lifers as mutinous as ever, and if anything

the other prisoners more noisy. I then took a rifle from one of the men and fired a blank cartridge, which was met with jeers. The next shot was ball and killed the ringleader. Two more shots followed, and the mutiny was over, two dead and one wounded being the result. Remarkable to relate, the wounded man, though the bullet penetrated his skull, recovered. I do not think he bore me any special malice, as in after years I often asked him if he felt any ill effects from the wound!

The next occasion, some four years later, there was a very similar trouble, but by this time we had moved into the new prison and the prisoners were under better control. However, on my arrival I found that all the unarmed warders had been withdrawn, and one or two had only been saved from being killed owing to the assistance they received from some of the less violent prisoners! The situation did not look promising, as there were 1,500 convicts in the courtyard and a regular pandemonium in the way of noise. I warned the armed men on the wall not to fire unless they saw I was overpowered, told the Governor to remain outside, and, accompanied by my deputy and a couple of unarmed men, entered the yard and walked straight up to where the convicts were congregated.

For a few moments it looked nasty, as we were immediately surrounded by a gesticulating crowd. I first invited the convicts to sit down, which they did, to my surprise. I then advised them to file off to their respective blocks. There was some hesitation, when one of the ringleaders got up and said, "Our father having come, let us obey him," and they all followed, and in an half an hour were all locked up.

I shall always look back to that morning in the prison yard as the triumph of my life. But, as a matter of fact, the whole affair hinged on the action of that particular ringleader. Anyhow, it was a victory of mind over matter, and a bloodless one—owing, of course, to the shooting I had been associated with a few years before.

Several years then passed without any incident, which I attribute to the same shooting, which was not forgotten; also to a certain extent to quarterly "parades for complaints," which I had instituted. On these occasions from 200 to 300 convicts would parade with all sorts of petitions, some quite childish and some quite false. It was very tedious, but I listened to all patiently and recorded my orders in a special register kept for the

purpose, and no one was ever punished for making a complaint, as it was understood that the occasion was "privileged." They say that confession is good for the soul, and I am sure that the complaint-making parade acted as a safety-valve with the convicts. A convict will work himself into a very nasty frame of mind if he thinks he has an unredressed grievance. But let him thoroughly air that grievance and it heals his wounded feelings in nine cases out of ten, even if his petition is not granted. It must, however, be listened to and reasons given for rejection.

This complaint parade, too, in Tura became so well recognised that the habit of convicts breaking away from their gangs and insisting on being heard, which was at first very common, became of later years seldom or never resorted to. I found that I could spend the whole day amongst the convicts, yet never be addressed until I spoke to them.

The last mutiny which I had anything to do with was over the question of change of diet. For the sake of economy "Dhura" bread took the place of the wheaten loaf, and although Dhura bread is eaten by nine out of ten Egyptian peasants, the change after so many years was looked on by the convicts as a sort of breach of contract on the part of the Government.

I fancy that the convicts purposely waited till I made my annual inspection. Anyhow, I was spending the whole week at Tura, when suddenly the bread ration was refused. I explained the reasons of the change to representatives of the prisoners, and they all admitted that the Government had the right as regards newcomers but not for old stagers like themselves, and they steadily refused to accept the ration, but nevertheless continued working. Unfortunately, the second day of their abstaining I was called away to suppress a mutiny (not on account of bread !) at another penal establishment (the Adult Reformatory).

On my arrival I found that the outbreak was confined to one block in which 400 prisoners were imprisoned. These men had attacked their warders, taken possession of their keys, armed themselves with all sorts of tools and miscellaneous weapons, and were burning everything they could lay hands on. It was then 10 p.m. and the outbreak had been going on for some hours, but the Governor proposed to starve out the men rather than tackle them.

I at once entered the block with some armed warders. I was met by a prisoner, who threw a bucket at me from the

corridor above, and I fired my revolver to frighten him more than anything else. But unfortunately the armed warders all started firing, too, and for the moment the danger of being shot was imminent. However, it had the effect of frightening the prisoners, who made for their cells. We then proceeded to round up the prisoners, and some of them had a very poor time, as the warders knocked them about a good deal, do what I could to prevent them. However, I consoled myself with the knowledge that the same prisoners had ill-treated the warders earlier, and as many of the prisoners still had shoe-makers' knives and carpenters' chisels in their possession they might have made use of them if given the chance. I am sure, too, that the good beating on the spot was far more efficacious than lashes later, especially for these "habituals," who are a despicable crowd compared with penal servitude convicts. It was a sorry lot, though, that paraded for the doctor's inspection in the morning.

I hurried back to Tura, as I felt that more serious trouble was likely to occur there, and, sure enough, I found that the quarry gang, as it was called, was in open mutiny, having refused to work as well as having refused to eat their bread. The prison officials had succeeded in getting the men back to their wards, and as we now had small numbers to deal with in each ward I hoped to re-establish discipline without shooting. The leaders of the mutiny were known, so I determined to waive the formalities prescribed by regulations and flog them each in turn inside the block and within hearing of the other prisoners.

For this purpose an attempt was made to bring down one of the ringleaders, but no sooner was the door opened than the foremost warder was badly stabbed with a knife, which had been secreted, and at the same time a concerted attempt was made by the other prisoners to break open the other cell doors and get out to the corridors. I then lined up the guard in the central hall, with orders to shoot the first man who came out on the corridor, and proceeded myself to try and force the door of the ward where the warder had been stabbed.

Unfortunately, the door opened inwards, and the weight of the convicts inside was rather more than we could bring to bear in the narrow gallery outside. Every time, too, we got the door open a little way the convicts inside stabbed at us through the opening. I fired two shots without effect, but at last the convict with the knife exposed himself too much and got a bullet through

his head, and the others at once surrendered. The shots, too, had the desired effect, and the noise at once ceased throughout the prison. I then flogged about forty ringleaders, and nothing more was heard of wheaten and Dhura bread!

This is a brief history of the only outbreaks which occurred during my tenure of office, and my readers will see that I personally suppressed each. It seemed the irony of fate that on the one hand I should be accused of excessive humanity in my general administration, and on the other hand be called on to shoot more than it falls to the lot of most men to have to shoot. But at the same time I congratulate myself that on each occasion the loss of life was confined to one or two; more especially as within six months of my leaving Egypt a grave mutiny at Tura had to be suppressed which necessitated the loss of very many more lives than all of the affairs with which I had been connected. Was it that I did my own shooting?

CHAPTER XXIV.

Remarkable Prisoners.

I have had some remarkable prisoners in my keeping from time to time, and a brief sketch of the careers of some may not be without interest.

In the earlier chapters of this book I have mentioned the well-known brigand Mohamed-el-Menchawi, and the efforts I made with the father to keep the son out of trouble. Had I then known that in the future I should be responsible for Mohamed's safe keeping as a convict, I certainly should have redoubled my efforts, as, however much I might admire Mohamed as a man (physically), he certainly was a very unsatisfactory prisoner to have anything to do with.

We might know him as Convict No. 64, but to the other prisoners he was a Bey, the son of a Pasha, and his influence over them was enormous, and I am sorry to say not always for good. I feel sure that Mohamed was at the bottom of all the trouble occurring in the prison, but so clever was he and so loyal were the other prisoners to him, that his name was never connected with any of the serious mutinies; in fact, he was never flogged during the whole twenty years of his life sentence, though I am sure he deserved it more than once.

To add to our difficulties, Menchawi Pasha died suddenly and failed to disinherit his ne'er-do-weel son, with the result that Mohamed became possessed of a large fortune. Now a convict cannot administer his own estate, but this did not prevent his representatives from paying for favours for Mohamed, and the price was, of course, I imagine, far above the standard of morality of the ordinary warder—was, in fact, very near the figure of the superior officers of the prison!

On this account I made several attempts to get the remainder of Mohamed's sentence remitted, as I argued that with a rent-roll of several thousands a year he was not likely to return to the sins of his youth—viz., brigandage—and, after all, fifteen years

of penal servitude should purge a good deal in the way of crime. I fear that my moving in the matter may have been misunderstood, even if corrupt practice was not imputed to me personally!! Anyhow, release was refused, and Mohamed served his full term of twenty years. But my fears were realised, and one morning I learned that my friend Mohamed had married the daughter of the Deputy Governor of the prison! Of course the Arabic papers were full of "a scandal in the Prisons Department. A criminal marrying a daughter of the Governor," etc., etc., and the Deputy Governor was naturally accused of connivance. But when tried by a disciplinary court, composed of an English inspector and officials entirely outside the Department, the Deputy Governor was acquitted, I am sure justly, as it was proved that the marriage took place in Cairo by proxy (such things are possible according to Mohammedan law), and quite unknown to the Deputy Governor. It appeared that one of the windows of the Deputy's house overlooked a yard where Mohamed was employed cleaning lamps, and by this means he had made love to the young woman somewhat frail by nature. But probably there are still many people in Cairo who believe that marriages are not always made in heaven but occasionally in the Tura convict prison! I need not say that I was very glad to see the last of Mohamed's colossal figure, and I have no doubt, too, that many of his former prison pals are now having a slack time on his property as retainers!

Another remarkable prisoner was a degenerate prince of the Khedivial family named Sef-el-Din. This young man, with his brother and sister, inherited a very large fortune from his father, Prince Ibrahim, each of their shares amounting to some £40,000 per annum. Sef-el-Din's sister was married, I believe against her wish, to the present Sultan of Egypt, who was then Prince Fouad Pasha. The marriage did not prove a happy one, and in the quarrels which ensued Sef-el-Din took his sister's part, with the result that one day he went to the Khedivial Club and emptied his revolver into Prince Fouad, who was the guest of the then Minister of War. The Minister, who was more for peace than for war, took refuge under the dining-room table, so it was said, and left his guest to bear the brunt of the storm. Strange to relate, the Prince was not killed, although four bullets were extracted from various parts of his person. Prince Sef-el-Din was tried for attempt to murder and sentenced to seven years'

"detention," and Prince Fouad thought it wise to divorce his wife rather than risk any more such family disputes!

Prince Sef-el-Din thus came under my care, and from what I subsequently learned of the young man, I have no doubt that when he shot his brother-in-law he was the worse for liquor, as alcohol had the most extraordinary effect on him, and when under its influence he became a raving lunatic.

In my description of Mohamed Menchawi I have shown that warders were not always proof against the temptations of a prisoner with a large fortune, and now and again Sef-el-Din used to get hold of a bottle of brandy smuggled in by some means or other. When this happened fun usually followed, as Sef-el-Din would attack the first person he came across, warder or prisoner. Sef-el-Din worked in the shoemaker's shop, where shoemaking implements were handy, and the trouble was to disarm him without hurting him. Of course the degenerate youth had no great physical strength, and was no match for an ordinary warder, but I gave orders that he was not to be hurt, as when sober he was quite harmless and amenable.

The first time this homicidal mania came on the Governor was at his wits' end to secure his prisoner unhurt, when the happy thought struck him to make use of a large coir door-mat which was under construction for one of the hotels. Holding this mat in front of them as a shield against the knife Sef-el-Din was approached by the warders and practically smothered till the knife could be removed.

This occurred two or three times, till I persuaded the authorities that the Prince was better accommodated in an asylum than in a prison. He was accordingly certified and removed to England, where he still remains. Lord Cromer, in his book, *Abbas II.*, tells us how the ex-Khedive gave his "full consent" to this transfer. He also tells us that the Prince Sef-el-Din's large fortune has not all been accumulated for his heirs since the management of the estates has been left to the ex-Khedive's nominee to administer!

Another degenerate for whom I was a short time responsible was the assassin Wardani, who took the life of the Prime Minister, Boutros Pasha Ghali. Wardani was not unlike Prince Sef-el-Din in appearance, and I am not at all sure that he was not equally irresponsible, but he had not the same violent fits, and, as far as I knew, was not addicted to drink.

As it was the first time the young Egyptian patriots had played the assassin, the authorities quite made up their minds that the full penalty of the law must be exacted *pour décourager les autres.* I was warned that I should get into trouble if anything should go wrong and the gallows be cheated. There were all sorts of rumours of a planned mutiny and a rescue from the prison; and the necessary measures were taken. This did not trouble me much, but what I did fear was poison at the last, when the Nationalists found that the hanging was really meant. I accordingly took special precautions, and made the cook partake of every meal he prepared for the condemned man. Even then there was always the chance of poison being smuggled in somehow.

But nothing happened, and on the day of execution the misguided young man's speech, which he had carefully prepared, was cut very short, but he got out something about, "This day will ever be kept as an anniversary." As a matter of fact, once hanged I do not think anyone ever troubled any more about him.

Another patriot, Ferid Bey, was also in my charge for a short time for abusing the ex-Khedive. Ferid Bey was at one time a judge in the tribunals. I knew his father, and I had several conversations with Ferid whilst in prison, but soon found that he was wanting in personality, and not likely to affect the Nationalist Cause one way or the other, but I believe he is in Switzerland, and will pose as the representative of Egypt at the Peace Congress *when* it comes off!

But of all my prisoners I think a certain Andrus, a Copt, was the most remarkable. He was well known to the police and to the prison officials, as he had been repeatedly imprisoned and had repeatedly escaped; in fact, none of the old buildings was apparently able to keep him for much longer than he wanted to remain. I forget what his offence was when I first saw him, but he was pointed out to me as a well-known prison-breaker, and was kept in solitary confinement on that account.

Sure enough in a few months he was gone again, having removed the screws of the bolts of his cell door and filled up the holes with bread, difficult to detect unless a very minute examination was made. The responsible warder suffered in consequence, but this did not prevent Andrus from one night breaking back into the prison and stealing all sorts of things from the stores. I imagine that this is a world's record, as nowhere but in Egypt could such

a thing occur. Of course, it was in one of the old prisons, and the stores were not very safe, but nearly a cartload of stuff was removed and never recovered!

However, Andrus was soon back again, and this time for making away with the cash sent with the Holy Carpet to Mecca, nearly £7,000. The police never succeeded in recovering the cash, although a conviction was obtained, and I fancy never found out how the theft was accomplished. The boxes containing the cash were sent to the station under escort, sealed in the railway wagon, yet on arrival at Suez the money had all disappeared! Of course, Andrus must have had accomplices amongst the officials, but I cannot recall anyone being imprisoned with him; perhaps it was only Andrus who interested me!

On this occasion Mr. Andrus went to Tura, and I took care that the chains he wore were the heaviest and his dress scarlet, the dress of dangerous criminals. I also took care that he spent the whole of his time weaving within the prison, though he repeatedly asked for a change to the open air and quarries! He thus completed his sentence, and as in my time he never returned, I can only imagine that the nice nest-egg of £7,000 awaited him somewhere! It will probably suffice for some years, and then he will come in again if still alive.

One more remarkable prisoner I must not forget to mention—a dog! I saw a dog at Wadi Halfa that had been duly sentenced to six months for biting, and the fact was mentioned as an exceptional proof of the justice of the Pasha who then commanded the Frontier. "By Allah, he is just, he even imprisons his own dog like one of us," were the words of the official who introduced me to the dog!

I was told some years later that a similar punishment was inflicted on one of the semi-tame monkeys at Gibraltar for biting a child, and although the monkey did not actually confess his crime, he recognised the justice of the sentence, so I heard! By such trivial acts are we sometimes judged.

CHAPTER XXV.

Continental Prisons.

During my summer leaves from Egypt I think I managed to visit nearly all the principal penal establishments in England, but I felt that my education as a Prison Administrator was hardly complete till I had seen for myself how things were managed on the Continent. I accordingly persuaded the Egyptian Government, or rather, the Financial Adviser, to grant me the necessary travelling expenses, and planned out a short tour through France, Belgium, Germany and Austria. It took me just under a month, and a very interesting trip I found it, in the autumn of 1905.

Before I started I prepared a regular catechism to enable me to obtain the information I wanted, and had the same printed in the form of note-books. I am sure that the Directors of the establishments I visited must have looked on me as a terrible nuisance, as, after a look round, and when probably they thought they had finished with me, I returned to their respective offices, produced my note-book, and proceeded to put them through a regular examination! Some would not be bothered with me, and handed me over to a clerk, whilst others seemed to be as much interested in giving me the information as I was in getting it!

Undoubtedly, too, I was repaid for the trouble I had taken in preparing the questions, as on my return to Cairo I had no difficulty in compiling a voluminous report of all that I had seen, and I was able to compare not only the working of each establishment but also the system in vogue in each country. My only regret is that I have not now this report before me, as I could have made this chapter of my recollections much more interesting to those who have studied the subject than I can make of it writing merely from memory. However, it is not everyone who is interested in prison administration, so perhaps it is just as well my data are incomplete!

One thing, I remember, particularly impressed itself on me. Whereas in England every prison Governor that I have met was

in both education and in manners a gentleman, the Directors on the Continent were distinctly second class. I mean that they were inferior as a class to the military officers of their own country whom I happened to come across. Probably the pay was not sufficient—for it was much less than is paid to our Governors of prisons in England—to attract retired officers and others of that class, or possibly, it was not socially *comme il faut* to be a mere Director of a prison.

I may have been wrong, but I fancied that in consequence the discipline throughout the Continent was much slacker than in England; and the officers certainly did not command the same respect from either prisoners or warders. I remember in one prison the Director invited me to be present whilst the defaulters were "told off," and I was surprised to find a little Court assembled, consisting of the Director, his store-keeper, and some other small officials as judges, and each was duly consulted before the small punishment was inflicted.

The canteen, too, plays an important part throughout the Continent, and each prisoner earns a small salary which he makes use of to supplement his ration.

The labour of prisoners is made extensive use of by contractors, who pay so much a head, providing the raw material and the skilled workmen to supervise. As for trade union interference, nothing of the kind was ever thought of. The general result is that the cost of maintenance is very much less than in England, but I doubt if the deterrent effect is anything like as good. I remember in one prison in Belgium everyone was occupied in making fishing rods, and I should imagine that all the fishing rods in Belgium must come from that prison! In another prison in France chain purses seemed to be the speciality, and it was extraordinary how adept those I saw working had become.

Whilst at exercise conversation seemed to be general and many were smoking. I remember in Vienna noticing one prisoner who broke away from his gang to catch a butterfly and no notice was taken by the warder in charge.

With few exceptions, which I will refer to later, the whole system was association, whether it was sleeping, working, feeding, or at exercise. I should describe the establishments as barracks rather than prisons.

I do not think anyone attempted to defend the system as ideal. If you talked to a Frenchman he would say, "If you want

to see how a prison should be run, go to Fresnes." The Belgians hoped that some day all their prisons would be on the lines of St. Giles in the suburbs of Brussels.

I went to both, and I must say that I was not disappointed in either; both were as good as, if not better than, anything we have in England, but with the erection of these two prisons the effort to reform seems to have died out, and I have never heard of any attempt to build another Fresnes or a second St. Giles. Fresnes is a splendid building, where the principle of solitary confinement is carried to the utmost extremity. The cells are more spacious than our English cells and brighter altogether, but there is absolutely no communication whatsoever between the prisoners. The only persons spoken to are the officials and trade instructors.

When a prisoner leaves his cell to clean the corridors, or for other purposes, he pulls a mask over his head and absolute silence is enforced. When he goes to chapel the pews are so arranged that he can see the officiating priest and the altar, but no one else. The cooks even in the kitchen are all working in separate cubicles. At exercise there is a small courtyard for each, respectively, where the mask can be thrown back and smoking is allowed. I watched several walking round and round smoking, and I thought how that smoke must be looked forward to and what a soothing effect it must have.

I asked if many broke down under this treatment and was assured that they did not, as the officials and instructors were constantly backwards and forwards, and the prisoners were never alone for any time. I cannot recall without my notes the period of ordinary imprisonment solitary confinement was considered as an equivalent to, but it was much less, and limited to a maximum of years, when association followed if the sentence was not completed.

Altogether, for those who advocate the solitary system with shorter periods, the conditions were all that could be desired. The men, too, whom I saw in their cells seemed to confirm the reports of the officials; they did not appear broken in spirit in any way. Some, I was told, elected to complete their whole sentence in solitary confinement.

St. Giles, at Brussels, is a much smaller establishment, but the conditions are identical so far as solitary confinement is concerned. As already stated, with the exception of these two, neither France

nor Belgium has any prison to compare with England. Even our third-rate local prisons are better than those that I saw.

My trip in France and Belgium in search of prisons took me to all sorts of mediæval places, and when once one gets off the beaten track used by tourists one could not help being struck with the primitive condition of many of their towns. My insular prejudices have long since disappeared, but if the places I saw were fair samples of their provincial life, then our cities and county towns are, I might say, a century in advance!

Amongst other places in Belgium I visited Ypres, famed at that time for its Reformatory, which, like the prison of St. Giles, was the show establishment. I may add that I was not disappointed, as it is, or rather was, for I suppose German shells have left nothing of it, quite the best thing of the kind that I have seen out of England and Egypt. If I learned anything, I hope that I likewise taught something, for I think I rather astonished the Director by my suggestions and comments whilst he was showing me round!

I went from Brussels to Berlin, where I very soon learned that my ideas about Germans and their knowledge of languages had to be abandoned. I had got into my head that French and English would take me anywhere, as all Germans spoke some language besides their own. I very soon found that I was mistaken, and, not speaking German myself, had the greatest difficulty in getting even from the station to the hotel, as the cabman had apparently never heard of the hotel I wanted to go to! Alas! for my pronunciation!

The next morning, with the help of the hall porter, I started to present my credentials at the Foreign Office, so as to obtain the necessary means to visit prisons. I imagined that at the Foreign Office, at all events, I should have no difficulty, as the messengers would be accustomed to hear occasionally English and French, but they all shook their heads, and it was only when I reached some of the lesser magnates that I was able to make my wants known and be received with any sign of civility.

It may have been that I was not "got up" in the regulation evening dress and white tie, like the majority of those waiting about the ante-rooms to be received! Perhaps it was that all Germans who can speak foreign languages are sent abroad to spy out the nakedness of other lands! Anyhow, I eventually obtained my orders, but was advised by the gentleman who gave

them to me to avail myself of the services of an interpreter, as probably no one of the prison officials would be able to speak anything but German. He was quite right. I never came across any official in a German prison with whom I could have communicated direct.

The interpreter whom I eventually succeeded in procuring made up for the linguistic failings of the others, and gave me a lot of information about all sorts of questions relating to the social life in Germany which interested me. As he spoke English so fluently I imagined he had been a clerk in some office in London, and I was quite surprised when he told me that it was as a footman in Ireland that his English had been acquired. I have since wondered what took him to Ireland! Anyhow, he made no secret of his military service and showed me all his papers and where he had to go to pick up his uniform and his rifle, etc., when *the* call came. He, too, seemed quite certain that the call would come some day.

But if we could not compete with German thoroughness in military organisation, we certainly were far ahead of them in the administration of prisons. Perhaps it was that I was so thoroughly imbued with the idea of German thoroughness that I expected too much, and was in consequence disappointed when I found that the three prisons I visited were of the average Continental type, so far as organisation and discipline were concerned, though the buildings were more modern, in fact, had evidently been built comparatively recently for prisoners, and were not old barracks adapted like so many in Belgium and France. But from what I saw, it was clear that prison administration had not the same interest to the Government as Army organisation!

But in some other respects their methods seemed superior to ours. For instance, after a morning devoted to prisons, I one day suggested to my interpreter that he should take me through the slums. I was surprised to hear that we had been all through the slums that morning and I had failed to recognise them. Again, in the matter of the unemployed, I had not seen any, and was informed that men who failed to find employment, or refused to work, were provided for in farm colonies, where they were made to work. How much more sensible than our workhouse and tramp system!

I did not see any of these colonies, as I had not the time, but I visited a so-called reformatory for boys, run, I think, by the

Berlin Municipality, and saw a number of young ruffians of the worst type, who appeared to do pretty much as they pleased without any serious attempt at reformation or endeavour to teach them handicrafts.

This was all the more remarkable as I also visited a girls' reformatory in the suburbs which left nothing to be desired; in fact, if anything, it was too thorough, as the girls were shown the composition of most of the utensils, furniture, etc., they made use of in their handicrafts, which seemed unnecessary.

But the feature of the establishment was the matron, who seemed to have everything at her fingers' ends, and enjoyed explaining everything to an interested person like myself. She undoubtedly was an expert in her particular line, rather different from the well-meaning amateurs whom I have come across in similar institutions in England.

What impressed me more than anything about Berlin was the way night was turned into day. The whole place seemed to be on the move and a blaze of light. Berlin gave me the idea of being brand new without any past, and if I was correctly informed, was built to a great extent with money paid by the French as their war indemnity.

I went to various places of amusement in the evenings after dinner, and at one sort of variety show came across the most remarkable man I have ever seen in my life. He was an American quick-change artist, and, as far as I could make out, the whole performance was a one-man show, and lasted nearly two hours. In addition to assuming various characters in quick succession, he played the part of each on the stage. He also appeared to be an accomplished painter, musician, conjurer, strong man, expert rifle shot, trainer of performing dogs, and trick rider on horseback. As far as I could see, it was the same individual throughout, yet it seemed impossible for any one man to be so gifted. How was it done?

After my Berlin experience, I was much surprised to find that, at Vienna, French and English helped me along without the necessity of an interpreter, even with the prison officials. As regards the administration, I soon saw that there was nothing worth learning, slackness being the general atmosphere. But the officials were all very obliging and anxious that I should see all that was to be seen in the way of law Courts and other administrations.

My hotel manager, too, was very anxious that I should go to the Opera, as not only were they all very proud of their Opera-house, but there happened to be a particular singer on at the time, "who even made strong men cry." I refrained from asking what happened with hysterical women! But as I did not want my feelings harrowed to the extent of tears, I satisfied myself with visiting the Opera-house only. It certainly was all the manager had described.

I also found time to visit the Imperial stables, and my only regret was that so many splendid animals should not be occupied carrying their former owners across country, as I was told many had come from Ireland and England: but all the same the Austrians are good horse-masters.

I have always liked the Austrians whom I have met abroad, but, coming straight from Berlin, one could not help being impressed with the fact that physically they are an inferior race to the "blond beasts." Their uniforms, too, do not help to show off their figures, as do the frock coats which I saw worn by the officers in Berlin! I wish that I could have spent longer in Vienna, as it appeared to be a much pleasanter, less blatant and aggressive place than Berlin.

I had intended to continue my tour to Budapest and on to Constantinople—not, to be sure, to acquire any further knowledge of prison administration, but as a trip! Unfortunately, I was called back to England, and eventually returned to Egypt, *via* Marseilles as usual. On this particular occasion I had rather a curious experience at Marseilles which I think is worth recording.

I arrived at the Terminus Hotel by the evening train, engaged a room, and, taking out a few of my garments, proceeded downstairs to have a final drink before turning in. I was not out of the room for more than a quarter of an hour. On my return everything was apparently as I had left it. I carefully locked the two doors and turned in, leaving my watch, chain and about £15 in gold on the table by my side. I heard nothing during the night, but was awakened in the early morning by a door banging, and, on getting up, found one of the doors I had bolted open, and my watch, chain and money, etc., all gone.

I at once sent for the manager and complained of the theft, and was told that there had been several lately from people staying in the hotel, and usually from those who were leaving by

steamer, and that he (the manager) had little doubt in his own mind that the thief was a German staying in the hotel, but, as they could get nothing against him more than suspicion, the French police would not take any special action in the way of search. If, however, I would make an accusation against this German, possibly the police might search his baggage, etc.

Of course, I had nothing definite to go on, but I sent for the Police Commissaire and laid a formal complaint against the German, though I had never set eyes on him! Unfortunately, my steamer was leaving about mid-day, and I had only a couple of hours to try and recover my belongings. The police arrived with the necessary authority to search the man's baggage, and we proceeded to his room. The man was not there, but we found his valise ready packed to depart. The gentleman was produced from somewhere, and, with the assistance of an interpreter (the man pretended he could only speak German), he was told of my accusation, at which he expressed great indignation!

The police then proceeded to open and search his portmanteau, but beyond £50 in gold found nothing. I claimed that, as some of the money was in English sovereigns, these must be mine, but I failed to satisfy the officers making the search! I then suggested that we should search the man's person, but the police were very loath to do so, as they said they had already exceeded their authority and might get into trouble.

I had almost given up the idea of persuading them, but, keeping my eye on the accused, I saw that he understood everything we were saying, and was evidently nervous lest I should be able to persuade the officers to search him. What was more, I noticed that he had approached the bed, which had not been made.

After more persuasion, the man was searched and nothing was found. I then determined to search the bedding on my own account. There, sure enough, was a paper parcel carefully tied up, and when opened out came several watches, ladies' bracelets, etc., and amongst them my own watch and a fourpenny lucky bit which I had described to the authorities when making the complaint and which left no doubt as to some of the property being mine.

Of course, the police officer was delighted, as the man was a German, and as a loaded revolver and large knife were found in the man's portmanteau, they congratulated me on having escaped

with my life! This I rather encouraged, as it made the theft what is termed in French law an aggravated one.

But the difficulty was to persuade the authorities to give up my property and allow me to depart without waiting for the trial. However, a visit to the Juge d'Instruction did the trick, with the help of my card on which my Egyptian rank and official title appeared in full. By the way he thanked me you would imagine that I had rendered some great service to the French Government, and I am sure that, had I so wished, I could have claimed all the stolen property plus the cash I found in the portmanteau!

The conclusion I came to was that when I left the bedroom to get my drink the man must have slipped in and secreted himself under the bed till I was asleep. Up to that time I had always laughed at people looking under their beds before going to sleep, but since then I have made a point of doing so when sleeping at an hotel. It is no use bolting and locking doors if you have a thief under the bed all the time!

Thus ended my Continental trip in search of information to assist me in my prison administration. I trust that the French police all benefited by the object-lesson I gave them in the matter of police investigation!

CHAPTER XXVI.

Hospitality in Cairo.

One of the greatest trials a Colonial Governor has to undergo is—as someone, I forget whom, wrote—to associate with and entertain people with whom he has nothing in common, and whom probably he will never meet again after his tenure of office is over. H.B.M.'s Representative in Cairo is not unlike the Colonial Governor, and I am sure to a man of the late Lord Cromer's mental calibre the official dinner party during the winter season must—to say the least of it—have been very distasteful.

Lord Cromer's greatest admirers, and I am one, must admit that he was far from being an ideal host. Bored stiff he was, and bored stiff he in fact appeared the whole time, and when about 10 p.m. he edged towards the door, the leading lady, if she had any discernment, would recognise that the Blue Peter (*pour partir*) was flying, and that the last bell had been rung!

But it was a very different Lord Cromer who entertained one earlier in the autumn, when the weather was warm enough to dine on the verandah, and the party never exceeded half a dozen, or again, later in the spring, when one was asked to make up a bridge party. One then came away with the conviction that Lord Cromer was human after all, and could hold forth on every conceivable subject likely to be of interest to his hearers.

The power to make people believe that you are just the one person they wanted to meet is a great gift, and cannot, I think, be acquired. The late General Stephenson, who at one time commanded in Cairo, had that power, and it was perhaps the principal reason why he was so popular.

A man told me rather an amusing story in connection with an Agency dinner party. He had been asked to dinner with his wife, and, after arriving, happened to meet Lord Cromer in the hall. Lord Cromer scanned a list he had in his hand, and then rather brusquely asked my friend why he was there as he was not

invited! As luck would have it, the "uninvited" guest had his card of invitation in his pocket, which he forthwith produced! After looking at it, Lord Cromer merely remarked, "It is just like so-and-so," mentioning the person who had written the invitation, "but I fear you must go, as there is no room for you." Luckily my friend had not dismissed his carriage, so he went and dined at the Savoy! Query: What ought Lord Cromer to have done?

I will tell of another experience which may possibly answer the question. This time the guest was a colonel of one of the battalions in Cairo, and was really uninvited. He arrived at the house of a well-known lady in Cairo, was duly welcomed, and given the place of honour. In the middle of dinner his hostess saw beads of perspiration on the colonel's face, and, inquiring what was the trouble, learned that her guest had that moment remembered that he had not been invited. The lady then told him that she had recognised his error when he came into the room, but, rather than make him feel uncomfortable, had sent off one of her other guests, to whom the situation was explained, to dine elsewhere, and thus room was found. That lady was certainly a diplomat, as even the guest dismissed was pleased at being treated as an *ami intime!*

I have still one more story of a similar description. This time the guest was a man of title, well known in Cairo as somewhat absent-minded! He was, as he thought, about a quarter of an hour late for a dinner, and, hurriedly taking off his coat in the hall, remarked to the butler, "I fear I am rather late." "Yes, my lord, exactly *one week* and twenty minutes!" Deponent sayeth not what happened, but I presume that the great-coat was immediately asked for!

As a host, Sir Eldon Gorst was certainly more popular than Lord Cromer, and, if I recollect aright, was the first to introduce the garden party at the Agency, whereto all the British community was bidden. But the most popular, certainly with Egyptians, was Lord Kitchener. The afternoon garden parties were continued, and Egyptian Army officers attended them in large numbers, and were certainly well looked after by Lord Kitchener in person. I never remember seeing an Egyptian officer at either Lord Cromer's or Sir Eldon Gorst's entertainments.

Lord Kitchener also insisted on the addition of a large ball

room to the Agency, which must have exercised the ingenuity of the Foreign Office architect. It certainly has not improved the outward appearance of the building.

The late Khedive Tewfik Pasha entertained considerably more than the ex-Khedive Abbas II., and all the world and his wife managed somehow or other to secure invitations to the annual balls at Cairo and, during the summer, at Alexandria. Tewfik Pasha on these occasions moved about amongst his guests with much less ceremony than the ex-Khedive thought it necessary to introduce later. I remember on one occasion Tewfik Pasha had quite a long conversation with a lady I happened to be with, addressing her as Madame Coles! The lady was rather embarrassed and all for correcting the error, till I shook my head, when she continued to play the part with great skill, much to the amusement of my own wife, who was a witness of the incident!

The balls given by the ex-Khedive Abbas were few and far between, and the invitations were harder to get, but, all the same, some very curious people seemed to have the Palace *entrée* I have eaten many excellent dinners at Abdin by command of the ex-Khedive, and but for being trussed up in "full dress and decorations" might almost have enjoyed them, as the cooking was excellent, the wine good, and the dinner so well served that it never took more than one hour, for I am afraid to say how many courses. Abbas II. was also an excellent host, if one may call a Khedive by such a familiar title.

A great change came over entertainments in Cairo when Egypt became a popular winter resort, and palatial hotel proprietors vied with each other to attract the tourist. In the early days a couple of balls at the Agency and one at the General's was about all that young people could expect, with an occasional regimental dance. Of late years it has always been a marvel to me how the British subaltern could survive the winter season. He practically had to dance all night, play polo and other games all the afternoon, and possibly do some soldiering in the early mornings!

I do not suppose that there is any other place in the world where the art of hotel dances has been brought to such perfection. My only wonder is that the non-dancing guests put up with it, but practically they have no choice in the matter, as each of the first-class hotels has one or more weekly dances. As a rule, too, hotel dances are not very select, but in Cairo, apart from the people who live in the hotel and presumably cannot be refused

admission, objectionable people have not a chance of being allowed to pass the guardians at the door. If you are known in Cairo society you walk in without any formality; officers in uniform do the same; but the young civilian must arm himself with a card of invitation unless he wishes to be ignominiously turned away. Some people wonder how it pays the hotels to give these entertainments, but proprietors are no fools, and the special dinners and suppers on ball nights must far more than compensate for the small extra expense incurred.

In dancing accommodation Shepheard's is undoubtedly superior to any of the other hotels; but the crowd is more cosmopolitan than at the Savoy, and on this account it is less favoured by chaperones. Each hotel gives an annual fancy dress ball, and there is no prettier sight than a fancy dress ball at the Ghizereh Casino, where the lighting and the sitting-out accommodation alike lend themselves to such a pageant.

Those fancy dress balls at Ghizereh, what reminiscences they bring back, and not to me alone, I imagine! I remember one visitor, a lady, causing a considerable flutter by arriving at a ball dressed as a syce, with bare legs and feet, running in front of a carriage. The lady in question was certainly very unconventional. The last time I saw her was on the platform at Marseilles, returning from India. She was escorted by some half-dozen men, evidently her *compagnons de voyage*, who had come up from the ship to see her off. The whole party seemed to be on very familiar terms, and I was wondering how the lady would single out the favoured one at parting, when she kissed the lot and left me still wondering!

But, returning to Ghizereh, I do not know whether it will interest the Bays to hear that no ball I ever attended at Ghizereh equalled their centenary (I think it was) festival. Everything was "top-hole," and a number of the men were posted at different spots clothed in the old uniforms of the regiment. So still, too, did the men stand that it was difficult to remember that they were not wax figures. I hope that they did not take advantage of anything they overheard! This reminds me that the police on duty on ball nights at Ghizereh often see things they should not, and some amusing incidents are occasionally reported next morning. My lady friends, please note!

If Ghizereh was hard to beat as a pretty show, Shepheard's annual cotillion balls on Shrove Tuesdays were unsurpassed in

regard to numbers, and the energetic manager generally found some novelty to introduce as one of the cotillion figures.

But all records must have been surpassed at the opening of the Grand Hotel, Heliopolis, when upwards of 1,000 guests were invited and danced all night in the large central hall. Like everything else at Heliopolis, the whole entertainment was on a magnificent scale. I do not suppose the hotel ever can pay, and I imagine was never expected to pay, being part and parcel of the gigantic speculation to create a new city and sell the land. The poor Belgians, I wonder if they will ever have money enough again to undertake such an enterprise!

I fear that I have let my pen run away with me in describing hotel hospitality, and I might lead my readers to suppose that private hospitality did not exist. Far from it; although the hotels have practically monopolised all dances, there was, and is, a good deal in the way of dinner parties taking place all the winter. A Mr. Morgan, of the American Embassy, must, I think, be given the palm for private hospitality. Mr. Morgan was unmarried, and appeared never so happy as at the head of his own table, when the best food and wines which money could produce were served in a room especially built for the purpose. It must, too, have been for the pure love of hospitality, as Mr. Morgan was only in Cairo a few years, and there was no necessity for him to spend a shilling in entertaining his friends.

There was one very remarkable dinner at which I assisted. It was given by Slatin Pasha on his return from the Soudan, where he had been a prisoner of the Kaliffa's for upwards of ten years. I say "remarkable" because he invited some thirty or forty of us—some of whom he hardly knew—and then, dressed in immaculate Egyptian Army uniform, made a long speech in English, a language he could then scarcely speak. Of course, the speech was written for him by Sir Reginald Wingate, but Slatin Pasha delivered it without notes and no hesitation, and yet a few months previously he had been the Kaliffa's barefooted slave and had not spoken anything but Arabic for over ten years. This and his hairbreadth escape would have upset most men, but it left Slatin unmoved. Again, having once got out of the Kaliffa's clutches, I suppose it must have occasionally crossed his mind what his fate would be if the Soudan Expedition which he accompanied went wrong. And yet I doubt if it ever worried him, as he never seemed to be troubled with nerves.

There was another interesting dinner party about this time, when Lord Kitchener and Mr. Cecil Rhodes were both the guests of the late Major Gordon. I was not present, but Major Gordon told me that after dinner a map of Africa was produced, and these two "Empire builders" proceeded to play a game of grab for the Dark Continent, each boasting where their own particular sphere of influence reached! Lord Kitchener evidently remembered this conversation, as when at Fashoda, where he had gone to dispute the passage with Marchand, he sent a cable to Rhodes, "Here I am, but where are you?"

Some years later, when Lord Kitchener was on his way to India to take up the post of Commander-in-Chief, I was invited, amongst others, to meet him at a dinner given to him by Sir William Garstin. The dinner was excellent and the wine not stinted, and Lord Kitchener kept us all listening till a late hour whilst he held forth on the African War (and incidentally how he hated South Africa) and on our chances of staving off the German attack, which he saw was coming, till our Colonial population would have increased sufficiently to make us independent of other outside help.

Lord Kitchener also made no secret of his intention of doing away with the Military Member on the Viceroy's Council. My recollection is that it was not so much the Military Member of Council that he objected to as the fact that he was an officer serving in India of a subordinate rank to the Commander-in-Chief. "I am not going to let one of my own officers be in a position to interfere with any of my proposals," was the argument used by Lord Kitchener. This view of the case is not always taken by his critics!

I am sure that shyness is to a great extent responsible for what foreigners consider our insular prejudice, and I think that the Britisher loses a good deal of this aloofness after a residence in Cairo. But we are not the only people who benefit. I remember once making a bridge four at a small dinner. My host was a Jew and of the others one was a Roman Catholic and the other an Egyptian, the fourth being myself. In the middle of dinner the Spanish judge (the Roman) was evidently very much amused at his thoughts, and explained to us that he was thinking of what his friends in Spain would say to his dining in the company of a Jew, a Mohammedan, and a Protestant! He added that he himself no longer saw any *harm* in it—after residence in Cairo!

I cannot close this chapter on hospitality without a reference to the Arab domestics who so largely contribute to our comfort in Egypt. They are paid much higher wages than the Indian domestics, but one only requires about half the number, as they are regular "maids of all work" if necessary. I remember that Lord Cromer brought with him a whole staff of Indian servants, but he very soon found the local talent was preferable, and the Indians disappeared.

But in order really to appreciate Arab domestics I think one must return to England and be dependent on the females who have taken the place of the old-fashioned domestic servant of the past. It is then that one misses Ali and Ibrahim, but I suppose that in time we shall succeed in spoiling the Arabs as we have spoilt our own English strain of domestic servant.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Sporting Clubs.

Some pictures of the racing at Baghdad which recently appeared in one of the illustrated papers might have been taken in Cairo in the early 'eighties; the surroundings appeared practically the same and the horses identical. It will be ever thus—as soon as the British Army occupies a conquered country, instead of exacting heavy indemnities from the inhabitants, the officers beg, borrow, or steal a site for a racecourse and other sports where they can amuse themselves. This is apparently what they are doing in Mesopotamia; this is what they did in Egypt, and for many years the Army authorities in Cairo maintained that the Ghizereh Sporting Club belonged by rights to the Army, and the civilians were only allowed in on sufferance.

I was not in Cairo till some months after the occupation, but I believe I am correct in stating that the late Captain Humphreys, of the Mounted Infantry, was the moving spirit in selecting the site and in laying out the course at Ghizereh which has given so much pleasure to so many Englishmen during the past thirty-five years.

I doubt there being any course in the world where the progress of a race can be so closely followed, even without glasses, the colours being easily discernible in the clarity of the Egyptian atmosphere.

I must admit that some of the corners are a bit sharp for others than Arabs, but this is unavoidable unless the many other sports provided at Ghizereh are to be unduly interfered with. At least, this is the conclusion we always arrived at when the question came up for discussion during the fifteen years I was one of the Stewards of the Club.

Poor Humphreys did not live long enough to enjoy many rides on the course in which he was so deeply interested, as one morning he was thrown at the fence in front of the stand—in those days a stone wall—and broke his neck. It did not appear to be a

very bad fall, but when they went to his assistance he begged not to be moved as he felt sure his neck was broken, and sure enough, it was, and he lay paralysed for a week with a tent pitched over him. I believe he actually lived long enough for his people to come out from England. It was very sad to pass the spot daily and know that there was no hope.

I remember well the first meeting I attended. General Grenfell (now Lord Grenfell) was the starter, riding a black cob. I was much impressed at the time at so heavy a man—and a general withal—undertaking so active a part as a starter. I am not at all sure that the racing in those early days was not far more amusing than it became later, when energetic secretaries succeeded in getting together so much added money that it paid to start regular training stables, and English jockeys were imported. But there is no question as to the animals now competing being much faster than what was thought good enough to win with in the years 1885 to 1890.

The regular training has, of course, made an enormous difference, but the big prices now paid for animals that can gallop has created a supply in the matter of quality far superior to anything formerly obtainable. In those days the export of horses from Syria was forbidden by the Turkish Government, and the animals had to be smuggled over the frontier and then marched across the desert *via* El Arish and Kantara. The knowing ones used to get early information of a caravan coming in and ride out to try and effect a purchase before they arrived in Cairo. Many a good pony was picked up in this way, and £25 would be the outside price paid. But it by no means followed that the highest price secured the best animal: some of the faster ponies I could mention were purchased for less than £20. Indeed, one never knew what the lucky bag would produce.

The fun of the fair was by no means confined to the day's racing, as for several weeks before the meetings we amateur trainers used to assemble every morning at the grand stand and, stop-watch in hand, endeavour to test the chances of our own particular stud, also the secrets of our neighbour's stable.

Mr. Langdon Rees (since dead) was the best gentleman rider and the most successful trainer in those early days. He swept the board with a pony called "Hadeed," and finally gave the next best animal ("Sir Hugh"), belonging to "Gerry" Portal, a stone and a beating in a match for £100. At that time there

was an English mare, "Skittles," belonging to Mowbray of the 42nd at Malta, and it was suggested then, if enough money was forthcoming, "Skittles" would be sent to Cairo to run a match with "Hadeed," weight for inches and class. The challenge was accepted, and over and above the original amount agreed on, the Cairenes to a man were ready to back the Arab, and the gentlemen from Malta "Skittles." We calculated that the long distance and the sea voyage from Malta would, apart from the weight for class, be a severe handicap against the mare.

The eventful day arrived, and assurance was made doubly sure by the state of the mare when she went to the post, as she looked tucked up and was sweating profusely. However, it was a mournful crowd that wended their way back to Cairo that evening, as the mare won in the commonest of canters, a regular case of the Maltese spoiling the Egyptians, and I am afraid to say the amount of money that went back to Malta—more than many of us cared to talk about. I made up my mind that never again would I put money on an Arab running against an English thoroughbred, as in my opinion no extra weight will bring them together.

I fear that I must plead guilty to the introduction of the old (I do not know if it still continues) Indian selling lottery system. It may be an excellent system for owners who take one ticket and then claim half, but for everyone else the prizes by no means compensate for the blanks, and, to my mind, it is a ridiculous form of gambling. However, as an old Cairo Steward, I suppose I must not grumble, as the percentage deducted for the club brought much grist to the mill for the many years it flourished in Cairo. Latterly, however, the Egyptian racing public refused to continue to be fleeced, and the lotteries died out. On the whole, I think the club did not lose much, as the amounts staked in the Pari-mutual have gone on increasing, and, as it is all ready money, there is no question of defaulters, a great consideration with a cosmopolitan crowd. Bookies were never allowed on any of the racecourses in Egypt, all the profits in connection with the Pari-mutual going to the club. From this source we used to get a considerable revenue, but most of it went in upkeep and added money.

The war has, I hear, altered all this, and thanks to the Australians, the amount brought forward annually runs to thousands, and not hundreds as formerly. I should have liked

to have remained on in Egypt if only to have assisted in laying out this sum in new stands and clubhouses, which were much needed.

But what a unique place Ghizereh is: three polo grounds, two racecourses, golf-course, squash racket courts, and tennis and croquet lawns *ad lib.*, all in a ring fence. It is certainly deserving of good club-houses, especially as my scheme to combine the two clubs (Turf and Sporting Club), at Sir Alexander Baird's expense, failed to materialise, as I have shown in a previous chapter.

On my transfer to Alexandria in 1889, I endeavoured to bring off another scheme, somewhat pretentious perhaps. My effort was to create a Sporting Club with the proceeds of the cricket club ground. Briefly, my proposal was to sell or exchange the ground of the cricket club, a valuable building site, for the grounds of the present Sporting Club. The late Sir Charles Cookson, who was Consul-General in Alexandria, would not, as trustee of the cricket club, hear of the proposal, so some other means had to be found if the Sporting Club of Alexandria was to be created.

The late Prince Ibrahim was the proprietor of the ground selected as a site, and eventually agreed to lease the land personally to Osman Pach-Orphy and myself for a term of years. After the lease was signed I had to lay out the course and collect the money to build the necessary stands and club-houses. This was accomplished, but I fear for the time my society was not much sought after, as friends and strangers were dunned alike for subscriptions. I am afraid, too, my motives were rather questioned when at the first meeting three out of the six races fell to my small stud. However, it caught on all right, and before long the Alexandria meetings were as popular as the meetings of the present club in Cairo, and the only anxiety is: when will the club be turned out and have to seek some other site. Let us hope never.

The creation of the Alexandria Sporting Club appeared to stimulate others to go and do likewise, and at one time it looked as if each province were going to have its own racecourse and sporting club. But after a time the craze, for it was only a craze, died out, and left us only with the Heliopolis Club, in addition to the Cairo and Alexandria Clubs.

Heliopolis, when I left Cairo in 1913, was a very flourishing concern, and looked at one time likely to become more popular with owners and the public than Ghizereh. This was entirely

owing to the late Major Pirrie. The racing club was originally started as an advertisement for the Heliopolis Company. I remember that we all laughed at the idea of the club being a success, and at Pirrie undertaking the secretaryship, yet, besides being an excellent advertisement, it paid a very good percentage on the capital expended.

The creation of these three clubs (Cairo, Alexandria, Heliopolis), with their respective stewards, meant conflict over rules of racing, unless some central racing authority were recognised. But only after much diplomacy and negotiation was it agreed to establish an Egyptian Jockey Club, and my endeavours in this connection were more than recognised when I left Egypt.

I have mentioned already how impossible it is to bring European and Arab horses together in any scale of weights for class, so much so that what were termed " Omnium " events nearly always failed to fill if any European horse was likely to start, and in consequence these open races were eventually abandoned.

Similarly, the advent of the country-bred made the handicapper's task a very difficult, if not an impossible, one. The country-bred, I may explain, is any animal foaled in Egypt with European blood on either side, and the variations run from the progeny of imported thoroughbreds to those with less than 50 per cent. of European blood in their veins. These latter were often entered to compete with Arabs without the European strain being either declared or detected. Often as not the owner himself was unable to say, there being no stud book in Egypt. This necessitated the classification by a committee before any animal was allowed to run as an Arab. As a rule—and rightly so, I think—the animal up for classification was never given the benefit of the doubt, and many were, I am sure, credited with the drop of blue blood which meant disqualification, notwithstanding a pure Egyptian ancestry.

I think Lord Grenfell must be made responsible for the introduction of this very uncertain element in Egyptian racing, as " Patrol," an English thoroughbred which he imported from England, so took my fancy that I persuaded the late Sir Elwin Palmer to grant a Government subsidy and allow me to get together a Commission to improve the breed of Egyptian horses. " Patrol " was the first animal we purchased for stud purposes, and we certainly could not have made a better selection, but whether horse-breeding in Egypt has proved the success I anticipated is another story.

I suggested that Prince Omar Toussom should be the President of the Committee appointed, and, like "Patrol," he more than justified my selection. If the breed of horses in Egypt has not improved to the extent we hoped for, it is not owing to want of interest on the part of Prince Omar, who for many years has worked hard to make it a success.

Every spring used to see the Committee travelling around the various provincial centres registering mares we thought suitable to breed from, and at the same time holding shows for the young stock, the progeny of Government horses. I must confess, however, that the result was rather disappointing, and I for one came to the conclusion that Egypt would never produce first-class animals. Perhaps in the Fayoum and parts of Sharkieh, in the neighbourhood of the Canal, the Bedouins take more interest in the breed of their mares, but in the highly cultivated area the young stock have not much of a chance of using their limbs by galloping about.

A rather amusing case of mistaken identity occurred at one of these shows, when unwittingly I played the part of Lord Cromer for an hour without being found out. It was in this way. I was attending a small show in the Fayoum, and, meeting a lady by whom I had happened to sit at a dinner party a few nights previously in Cairo, I asked her if she would care to see the show. She expressed herself delighted, and, after spending an hour with Prince Omar and myself, she took her departure with "Thank you so much, Lord Cromer, for your kindness." I was so taken aback that I fear I allowed the lady to depart still under the impression that I was Lord Cromer. I do not know which tickled me most, the idea that Lord Cromer would assist at a small village show or that I resembled him in any way! Lord Cromer was equally amused when I told him the story a few days later.

The horse-breeding is now run by the Minister of Agriculture, and more attention is paid to breeding mules than to breeding horses—perhaps wisely, but donkeys never appealed to me like horses.

Writing of donkeys reminds me of a voyage I once made with an Egyptian donkey which an officer was taking to England. One day the donkey managed to jump out of his box, and I laughingly suggested that he would make a good hunter. Imagine my surprise some months later, when out with the Duke of Beaufort's hounds, I found my friend the donkey carrying a man who had

been crippled and who was unable to trust himself outside a horse. I was told that the man and his mount saw a good deal of sport, more than would be possible on wheels.

So many officers have served in Egypt during the past thirty years that I fancy I must have seen the majority of gentlemen riders of any repute. In the early days Irwin of the 20th Hussars and Renton of the 17th Lancers were probably the most finished on the flat. Latterly Tudor (now a General in France) was very hard to beat, and held his own with the jockeys. For several seasons in the 'eighties the jump races were a monopoly for Fenwick of the Dorsets. Fenwick had a regular gift of making young horses jump, but so far as I can recollect he only rode his own. I do not think I ever saw him fall, certainly not in a race. In later years "The Mahout" (now Sir Bryan Mahon) was always sought after by the owners of jump horses, especially if they wanted driving along. "Tommy" Allen, too (now dead, alas !), could as a rule have his pick of any mount either on the flat or over the jumps, and he certainly could finish a race stronger than most G.R.'s. But the pluckiest rider of the lot was Harman of the Bays (probably a General by now). I have seen him finish a race and weigh in with a broken collar bone, when most men would have called for a stretcher ; he certainly did not know what nerves meant in those days in Cairo.

For some reason or other, steeplechases in Egypt have ceased to attract as formerly, and it is with difficulty that the two jump races usually held at each meeting have filled, so much so that Alexandria has abolished the 'chase altogether. I think the best 'chase I have ever seen in Egypt was when the 11th Hussars arrived with their Walers from India, and we had eleven entries for one race. I remember it was won by the late Colonel Prior on his English mare, much to the regiment's (Staffordshire) delight. All the other competitors were, I think, cavalry soldiers.

Have any of my readers seen a camel, or rather a dromedary, go over a jump course ? I have, once, at Ghizereh. Of course, the jumps were not bushed up to the extent they are on race days ; nevertheless, they all required jumping, and were successfully negotiated by an animal belonging to Russell of the Police.

I also once saw a curious match at Cairo, man versus horse over the jumps. I forget the exact distance—two miles, I think—the man had to go, but the horse was required to complete five miles, or about three times around the course at Ghizereh.

Frank Stout, of football fame, was the man, and I backed him, as I doubted any Arab standing up for so long over the jumps. But I lost my money; Major Gilson (as he then was) produced a slow but sure jumper and won easily.

A regular feature of the Cairo season is the Horse Show. I am afraid to say at how many I have officiated, certainly twenty. Of late years, though, I doubt these shows being as popular as heretofore. The ladies' hacks, ridden by the fair owners, always produced a great field; but the difficulty was to find the plucky man to tell the ladies that they were no longer required and might leave the ring. Of course, too, the hacks had to be judged, not the riders!

In the early days the winter programme generally consisted of four days' racing (two meetings) and several gymkhanas. Latterly, however, gymkhanas were no longer in vogue, but the race meetings were increased to six days, besides so-called Skye-meetings. I remember seeing rather a bad accident at one gymkhana, when a battle of plumes and single-sticks on horseback resulted in eighteen men being unhorsed and four horses with broken legs shot. I forget the cavalry regiment concerned, but the competitors charged each other too fast and there was no room to open out. Unfortunately, too, the Inspector-General of Cavalry was in Egypt and witnessed the accident. I imagine something more was heard of it next morning.

I fancy that the Australian gate during the war surpassed all earlier records, but the greatest crowd I ever saw at Ghizereh was when our present King (then Prince of Wales) was invited to a Bedouin gymkhana arranged especially for His Majesty. I think over £1,500 was taken at the gate, and the enclosures were all overflowing, including the paddocks. The police outside (I was not then Commandant!) were helpless to cope with the traffic, and everyone was in a very bad temper in consequence, many of the local celebrities having to leave their carriages and struggle the last half-mile on foot through the heat and dust. I fear that we Stewards, too, got our share of abuse for not having made proper arrangements to accommodate the whole of Cairo in the stands. However, we bore the abuse and pocketed the gate-money.

I must not close this chapter without a reference to polo. In late years—with crack teams wintering in Cairo, to say nothing of our local players, including such well-known exponents of the

game as Alex Schreiber, Dunbar, Marsham and Yusri Pasha—it certainly was not necessary to visit Hurlingham to see first-class polo.

I think it was in 1890 that the 17th Lancers sent a squadron to Cairo from India, and as it contained three officers of the regimental team (Renton, Millar, and Portal) Cairo soon learned that the game of polo meant something more than galloping about after a ball, which was what we were used to.

The 17th taught us all how the game should be played, and the standard then established has remained fairly constant since, as many regimental teams going out to India from Egypt have demonstrated. Whereas formerly polo was learned in India, Cairo has now become the nursery for the British Army. Ponies, too, are much cheaper in Egypt than in India.

It is remarkable, though, that, with the exception of Yusri Pasha, a Turk by birth and educated in England, I have never seen an Egyptian play polo. It is still more remarkable that Yusri should have reached the highest standard, at all events in Egypt. I have often wondered what has become of Yusri and if he is fighting with the Turks against us. I hope some day he will return to play polo at Cairo. He is quite a good sportsman.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Egyptian Civil Service.

The want of a properly constituted Civil Service, either European or Egyptian, to carry on the administration of the country was not the least of the difficulties with which Lord Cromer had to contend in the early days of the occupation.

Mudirs and their deputies were appointed in a more or less arbitrary manner, and their tenure of office depended largely on the relations which existed between them and the Prime Minister of the moment, any change of Ministry being generally followed by considerable changes amongst the Mudirs.

Apart from the fact that those favoured by the outgoing Minister were usually looked on with suspicion by the incoming man, there was also the question of patronage to be exercised, a newly appointed Minister having to provide for his friends, to say nothing of his relatives.

This, of course, is not very dissimilar from what occurs in England with appointments recognised as political; but then we have our permanent Civil Service, which ensures that, no matter who may be introduced as part of the political entourage of the incoming Minister, there is always someone close at hand to act as a brake and keep the Government coach at the steady "jog trot" so often prescribed by Lord Cromer in his reports.

In Egypt before the occupation the permanent Secretariat, so far as it existed, was more or less in the hands of Copts, who confined themselves to writing long verbose letters from which it was difficult to extract any meaning, and to keeping the State accounts in a manner which only one of their own community could interpret.

Sir Auckland Colvin has described how the late Sir Gerald Fitzgerald was the first Englishman to wrestle with the Coptic system of account-keeping and how he succeeded in introducing more rational methods. But, in order to do so, he had to surround

himself with Syrian clerks in the Finance Ministry, while the Copts found themselves relegated to the Mudiriehs.

In the early 'eighties I do not know what we should all have done without Syrians and Armenians to interpret for us, and consequently the number of clerks of these nationalities rapidly increased, to the detriment of the true Egyptian. This was the cause of many complaints from the Egyptian Ministers, and all sorts of rules and regulations were introduced to prevent Egyptians from being altogether ousted from the clerical work of the Ministries and Departments controlled by Englishmen.

The grievance was undoubtedly a legitimate one, but could not be avoided, as Egyptians with linguistic qualifications did not exist in sufficient numbers to fill all the clerical posts which were being created. Egyptians, too, who could read and write French or English were rapidly absorbed in the administrative billets, which meant far quicker promotion than if they had started their official career as clerks. In fact, in later years it was a standing complaint with Syrians and Armenians that most of the administrative posts were reserved for Egyptians of pure extraction, and they (Syrians and Armenians) could aspire to nothing higher than first-class clerkships with salaries not exceeding £200 per annum.

As education spread, the number of true Egyptians available for clerical work increased, and the supply, I think, now is more than the demand, so the necessity for Syrians and others no longer arises. Yet be it the fault of our system of teaching foreign languages or be it innate in the Egyptians themselves, I know not; but it is a fact that the Syrian is undoubtedly superior at expressing himself in a foreign European language, especially French, and I fancy that most of the letters we Englishmen and Egyptians wrote to each other in French were drafted by Syrian clerks. The Syrian Arabic, however, is adversely criticised by true Egyptians, and Ministers have told me that our circulars translated from English into Arabic by Syrians are easily recognised as incorrect Arabic.

I have also heard, from those who are competent to judge, that as a rule the possession of a secondary or higher certificate of education with the necessary knowledge of French or English generally means the inability to write a really good letter in literary Arabic. But this I am not surprised at, as the little I know of literary Arabic leads me to believe that it requires an

education in itself and that the student must devote his whole scholastic time to it if he wishes to become proficient.

The creation of a higher or lower Civil Service did not come for some years, but when it did come it meant the reservation of all posts above a certain salary for the higher class. This caused considerable discontent amongst the clerical staff whose careers were thereby affected. There was also a certain amount of grumbling on the part of the heads of Departments, these preferring their old clerks, who had acquired proficiency in the work of their particular branch, to the youths who, though better educated, had still to learn the routine duties of the office. However, we had to bear it, and the Government was undoubtedly right in its endeavour to raise the general standard of education.

But I am inclined to think that the Government would have been still better advised if at the same time a school for the higher administrative posts had been created, much the same as the School of Law for the judicial side. As it is, the graduates from the School of Law claim, and rightly so, that they are on a higher plane of education than the ordinary administrative "Mawen," who commences work directly he has acquired his secondary certificate and eventually blossoms into a Mamur, Sub-Mudir and Mudir. On the judicial side the youth who aspires to reach the Bench has, after he has obtained his secondary certificate, to remain at the Law School for a further course of three years. If, therefore, education is a test, the men on the judicial side are all better equipped than those on the administrative side.

Now that the Law School turns out annually more graduates than are required by the Ministry of Justice, I do not see why—though in the early years it was not possible—the said Law School should not to-day become the nursery for all who may be termed (for want of a better name) covenanted officials. For such officials the Government should covenant to reserve certain appointments, both on the administrative and on the judicial sides. In this way no invidious comparisons could—in after life—be made between the two services. The youths graduating would themselves elect which of the services they would join, and once having made their election would continue in that branch. Graded lists in the two services should correspond as regards rates of pay, and there should be no transfer, as at present, of Judges from the Bench to be Governors of Provinces.

I have so far only dealt with the Egyptian side of the Civil Service. The appointment of Europeans to posts in that service raises all sorts of questions which—even if capable of solution—are by no means easy to solve.

In the *Making of Modern Egypt* Sir Auckland Colvin states that the small European leaven is absolutely essential to keep the Government machine working and to raise the standard of morality amongst the native element. This, of course, is our English point of view, but Lord Cromer throughout his reports has always recognised the Egyptian side of the question, and has been careful to explain any increase in the number of Europeans which from time to time he thought necessary.

I do not think that I need discuss the point whether the efficiency of the service is or is not increased by the presence of Europeans; but what Sir Auckland Colvin states is undoubtedly correct. The only question to my mind is to what extent we are justified in causing irritation and ill-feeling amongst the Egyptians in order to secure this extra amount of efficiency? Further, were we justified in creating a regular Foreign Civil Service by the introduction of a number of young Englishmen who did not come to teach, but came in the first instance to learn?

Let us trace how this service came to be created. Such a Civil Service was, I think, never contemplated by Lord Dufferin, as officers who came from India—like the irrigation and police officers—were distinctly told that their service in Egypt was only temporary, and was not likely to last more than five years at most. We were, in fact—like officers in the Army—merely "seconded."

Mr. Clifford Lloyd was the first to modify this arrangement by the introduction of half a dozen young Englishmen as police cadets. The appointment of these cadets was objected to by Nubar Pasha, and I think—looking back at it now—that in this particular instance Nubar Pasha had the right on his side, for it could not be said that the Egyptians were likely to derive any immediate benefit from the appointment of these cadets, or were likely to learn anything from them.

The Public Works was the next Department to discover that it could not carry on without the assistance of young English engineers as surveyors of contracts. But as these engineers were paid from credits voted for the barrage construction, their

appointment did not attract the same notice, even if known to the Egyptian Ministers. Yet these surveyors of contracts were all eventually brought on to the permanent staff, and formed the nucleus of the many Europeans serving in the Department at the present day.

Finally, as grants for the higher schools increased, the Education Department was obliged to introduce masters to teach English and higher mathematics. Not a few of these education experts were passed on to other administrative posts as soon as they had acquired a knowledge of Arabic, and became, if I may say so, social successes.

In this way—notwithstanding the assurances in the annual reports that the appointment of Europeans was and would be restricted as much as possible—Lord Cromer found that *malgré lui* the number of young Englishmen went on increasing as the country developed.

But it was not till 1898, when Sir Eldon Gorst was appointed Adviser at the Finance Ministry, that we first heard that young University men were going to be selected by a Board in England, and were coming out to be appointed direct to administrative posts. Sir Eldon Gorst may, therefore, be said to have created the Anglo-Egyptian Civil Service, and although it probably did not mean the employment of many more Europeans than were actually serving in the country, an entirely new precedent was undoubtedly thereby created.

I am one of those who consider this new departure a mistake, as the old system of borrowing "seconded" men from India or from the Army gave us all the men whom we wanted, and was likely to cause less friction with the Egyptian Ministers. Presumably, too, these young University men had certain definite promises made to them, promises which it would be very hard to fulfil if there should come a change of policy by way of a decision to take a less active share in the Government. It has always appeared to me an irony of fate that eight years later Sir Eldon Gorst, as H.B.M.'s Representative, should have assembled us all at the Agency to tell us (amongst us a number of young men whom he had himself been instrumental in bringing out to Egypt) that a new policy was about to be introduced. "Egypt for the Egyptians, and no English need apply," was practically the purport of the discourse he gave us.

Most people will tell you that Sir Eldon was very unpopular,

and his policy a failure, and I am sure that it was largely owing to this famous speech. For no one likes to be told that, after having been induced to embark on a certain career in life, his prospects are to be blighted through no fault of his own. I dare say that this was not altogether what Sir Eldon meant, but, judging from the conversations that night at the Turf Club, this was the general interpretation given to the speech which he had delivered to us.

Poor Sir Eldon! I wonder, had he lived, would he have continued the policy sketched out to us that evening at the Agency? Lord Cromer has stated (see *Abbas II.*) that, from what Sir Eldon had told him, he gathered that the "honeymoon" with the ex-Khedive was approaching its close. Lord Cromer was also doubtful whether the policy was Sir Eldon's or had been dictated from the Foreign Office. I fancy that the general idea was Sir Eldon's, and the Foreign Office acquiesced. Anyhow, I can vouch for Sir Eldon being very much in earnest that the policy should be followed, and Mr. Chitty (since Sir Arthur Chitty), who was appointed Adviser at the Interior, was, if anything, more in earnest than Sir Eldon, and for the time being we certainly all took a back seat. But the aspect of affairs was entirely changed with the advent of Lord Kitchener, when "the Government became of an even more personal character than at any period since the occupation took place."—(Lord Cromer, *Abbas II.*).

In the annual report for 1905, Lord Cromer described in detail the system of recruiting the English Civil Service of Egypt and the steps taken by the Board in London to select the best of the many applicants who annually applied. Reading this, one would imagine that the candidates eventually selected were more or less super-men! It is, therefore, rather curious to find in the same report a note from the then Adviser of the Interior as follows:—

"I find that the young gentlemen from the Universities are enormously improved by a short but severe course of military training before they go to work to learn their administrative duties. They come back respectful and alert!" Poor young men! Rather hard to subject them to this short, but severe, course and then afterwards to hold them up to ridicule, stating they came back "respectful and alert."

I have never had any of these "young gentlemen" attached

to my Department, but the moral of the story is that, notwithstanding this special selection, I doubt their being any better than my old friends the competition-wallahs of India, or than my later friends the educational experts from whom the Egyptian Civil Service was formerly recruited.

There is one thing about the Anglo-Egyptian Civil Service peculiar to Egypt which, I think, does not help a man to become a successful administrator. I refer to the system of inspection without any actual charge. Young fellows in the service spend the first ten years of their life, if not more, wandering about the Provinces inspecting and reporting on the work of others, though they themselves have never been through the mill. The inspectors may give advice but not orders, and the official advised is not bound to obey, the system of government being that all orders to a Mudir shall come from the Minister, and to the Mamur el Merkaz (local administrator) from the Mudir. In practice, no doubt, an inspector with any strength of character gets his orders carried out without awaiting the official instructions from either Minister or Mudir; but he does so at his own risk, and, unless the matter be very urgent, official instructions are usually awaited.

This system of government is the direct result of the appointment of Advisers in each Ministry, the inspectors being the eyes of the Advisers. What it really amounts to is an unofficial Government running parallel with the recognised administration. The only advantage that I can see for this form of control is that if the occupation were to cease to-morrow and the English element were to disappear, the government of the country would be in no way dislocated, at all events for the moment. It is, of course, very different from the Indian system, whilst the French in their North-African Colonies work with Controllers in each province through whom all correspondence passes.

Lord Cromer is said to have boasted that when he left the country his annual reports would be the only official record for his successor. These reports are certainly very voluminous, and indicate perhaps more than anything else the personal interest which Lord Cromer took in the general administration. Lord Cromer always insisted on our notes for his report being ready soon after the close of the year, in order that the general report on Egypt might be published in London in the spring. Lord Cromer held that if he waited till the autumn, when full and more

correct statistics would be available, the report would have lost a good deal of its interest.

This was undoubtedly true, but at the same time, although Lord Cromer's reports could not be surpassed as literary efforts, I think there can be no question but that the Annual Reviews of Departmental Reports issued by the Government of India are more reliable for reference, based as they are on statistics and tables which give information *in the same form* year after year.

Personally I am a great believer in annual reports, not so much for the information which they supply to the public as for the future guidance of the officer making them and of his successors. Errors in administration are often unearthed and corrected which, in the absence of the annual stocktaking, might have continued unobserved. But annual reports were not looked on with favour in Egypt in the past, and probably will be still less encouraged in the future. I think I am correct in stating that the Public Works and the Prisons Administration were the only two Departments which published annual reports continuing for a number of years, following the Indian precedent.

Whilst at the Police Headquarters I tried to persuade Kitchener Pasha to publish an annual Police report, but he laughed at the idea of statistics and tables, and said that "what could not be produced on a sheet of foolscap was not worth recording." Many others, too, in Egypt hold this view, and look on the mass of statistics compiled annually in India as superfluous and costly.

I remember a young civilian in India once telling me that he looked forward to the annual report as the one opportunity he had in the year of being sure that his personal views ever went beyond his Collector. He might say what he liked: the censor's pencil was never made use of. His opinions might be criticised and possibly pulverised by his chief in his covering letter, but they went forward to headquarters none the less. In Egypt our reports were always edited, and the blue pencil made considerable use of. Perhaps this was, and is, necessary in Egypt, as literature which could be safely permitted in India might cause considerable mischief in Egypt, which at one time was the most advertised country in the world. There were so many special correspondents in Cairo that one was never certain that views expressed over a drink at the Turf Club might not the next day appear in the Press as from "High Authority."

In this connection I may mention rather an amusing incident

which occurred to myself. I was sitting in my office one morning when the card of the *Daily Mail* correspondent was brought to me. As at the time I was pressing for prison reforms, I thought it would be a good opportunity of working the Press, and therefore the interview was not refused. The correspondent asked me all sorts of questions on financial matters, and my replies naturally introduced prison administration in some form or other. After about half an hour's conversation—with copious notes made the while by the correspondent—the latter took his leave, addressing me for the first time as Sir Eldon Gorst. It was only after the gentleman had left that I realised the situation : that I had been interviewed in the place of Sir Eldon, who was Financial Adviser at the time ! As I have described elsewhere, I had once before inadvertently posed as Lord Cromer, but my personating the Financial Adviser in an official interview was likely to lead to trouble, so I scribbled a line to Sir Eldon and told him that unless he wanted to be described in the *Daily Mail* as a financial expert with a tendency to lunacy on prison questions he had better send for the correspondent and rectify the mistake. My own particular interview was not published, so I imagine that Sir Eldon followed my advice.

If the Germans and Turks allow us to remain in Egypt, I wonder whether the Government by Advisers will continue. I fancy not ; but at the same time I recognise there are many worse forms of government.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Constitutions in the Making.

It has always struck me as very remarkable that whereas Egypt is only separated from Europe by the breadth of the Mediterranean, whilst it is separated from India by some thousands of miles, the conditions of rural life in Egypt should yet have so little in common with village communities in Europe and should be similar in practically every respect to what one sees in many parts (if not throughout the whole) of India.

Such being the case, it is perhaps not so surprising to find that indigenous institutions in the way of councils of village Elders and Sheikhs have existed in both countries from time immemorial, in fact long before anything in the way of local government was ever thought of in England.

But local self-government as a process of devolution and political education began only to take shape in India in 1870, when Lord Elgin's Government introduced a comprehensive scheme of legislation, which was further developed by Lord Ripon in 1882.

In Egypt, Sir Eldon Gorst was undoubtedly the pioneer of home rule, both urban and rural. It was in 1893, when he was Adviser at the Interior, that Local Commissions and Mixed Municipalities were first heard of. Again, in 1909, when Sir Eldon had returned to Egypt as H.B.M.'s Representative in the place of Lord Cromer, a radical change was made in the organisation of the Provincial or Rural Councils, whereby their duties were enlarged and their powers considerably widened, notably in educational affairs. In fact, in elementary education the Provincial Councils then became the sole authority.

In extending the powers of these councils Sir Eldon Gorst was probably influenced by the local government legislation in India of an earlier date. But if in this connection Egypt borrowed much from India, Egypt is certainly more advanced than India in the matter of the Legislative Councils of State. As India is embarking on home rule on a somewhat broader basis, it may be

of interest to inquire whether she in turn cannot borrow something from Egypt and create a legislature on the Egyptian model.

Before discussing the question, it is as well to explain briefly to those who may be unacquainted with Egypt how the existing Constitution in the latter country has been reached. Lord Dufferin, who was sent to Egypt after the Arabi rebellion, drafted a scheme of Government which subsequently materialised into a legislature of two Houses—viz., the Legislative Council and the General Assembly. There was also an Executive Council of six Ministers nominated by the Khedive, but not necessarily from the members of either Assembly.

The Council of Ministers was alone vested with the power to initiate legislation. But all laws had to be submitted to and discussed by the Legislative Council as an advisory body prior to promulgation. Proposals for increase of taxation had to be approved by the General Assembly. With this exception, neither the Legislative Council nor the General Assembly had any power to veto legislation proposed by the Council of Ministers.

In the Legislative Council there were fourteen members elected by the Provincial Councils from their own numbers, one from each Council, and twelve others nominated by the Khedive to hold office indefinitely.

The General Assembly consisted of eighty members—viz., eight Ministers, twenty-six members of the Legislative Council, and forty-six elected by the delegates of villages—viz., one for each village, irrespective of size.

It is impossible now to say what form the Constitution would have taken had Lord Dufferin known that the English occupation was going to last for so many years. Had the occupation come to an end possibly the General Assembly might have fulfilled the purpose for which it was created. As things were, it rarely met, and it was, in fact, a negligible quantity, except on one famous occasion when Sir Eldon Gorst decided that it must be consulted in connection with the Suez Canal concession.

The General Assembly then rejected the proposal, notwithstanding that it was strongly supported by the English experts in the Finance Ministry. Egyptian Nationalists will tell you that the Assembly justified its existence by its action in this matter alone. Anyhow, it was undoubtedly a mistake on the part of Sir Eldon Gorst to put forward the scheme as a British proposal and then allow himself to be influenced by the hostile vote of the

General Assembly. English prestige in general and Sir Eldon's in particular suffered in consequence.

But I need not proceed farther with the merits or demerits of the General Assembly, as in 1913 Lord Kitchener came to the conclusion that the Egyptian Constitution left much to be desired. His Lordship accordingly revised the organic law and reconstituted both Chambers into one Legislative Assembly, with "a fresh electoral basis, giving a more equally distributed and comprehensive representation to the people." Lord Kitchener was undoubtedly right in amalgamating the two Chambers into one General Assembly, but whether the franchise he created was superior to that created by Lord Dufferin is, I think, open to doubt.

As I have shown, the fourteen elected members of the Legislative Council were chosen by the Provincial Councillors from amongst themselves, whilst the forty-six elected members of the General Assembly were elected by the village delegates direct. The General Assembly may, therefore, be said to have been the more democratic body of the two. Lord Kitchener argued (see annual report for 1913) that a provincial councillor might be an excellent adviser in provincial matters yet be an incapable legislator; again, that a man whose opinion might be very inferior in local subjects might well be of assistance in shaping legislation. It was, therefore, not logical to elect legislators from the councillors. It was better, in fact, to give to the man in the mud-hut (man in the street) the power to differentiate as to who would make the best councillor and who the best legislator.

The obvious reply to this argument is that all provincial councillors are not necessarily incapable legislators and those most likely to further the interests of the particular province would probably be selected by their brother councillors, who were presumably more capable of making the selection than the ordinary peasant.

Lord Kitchener was, I think, on firmer ground when he criticised the system which gave to the elector-delegate of an important town of many thousand inhabitants no more power than an elector-delegate of a small village: a detail of Lord Dufferin's scheme which certainly called for reform.

Again, it might be argued that many professional politicians would not care to seek in the first instance election to a Provincial Council, and in consequence their services might possibly be lost as legislators.

I think that both these objections could have been met without asking the man in the mud-hut to elect other than his Council of Sheikhs or Elders. These would elect Provincial councillors, who, in turn, would be responsible for the selection of legislators.

It is difficult to recognise Lord Kitchener in the rôle of a democrat, but Radical reformers will undoubtedly agree with his Lordship, and tell you that by limiting your electors or the field of selection you are interfering with the fundamental principle of democracy. But I must plead to being a Conservative in this respect. I am convinced that in the East we should govern by the means of the Sheikhs and Elders, rather than by the direct vote of the man in the mud-hut. If you extend the franchise you only widen the field for political organisations and for wire-pullers generally. You get no nearer the so-called sovereign will of the people, for the simple reason that the majority are often unable to understand the issue and have no particular will to guide them.

It is, too, so often forgotten that when, in England, Democracy insisted on having a voice in the Government and a vote, the House of Commons was the only popular governing body. In Egypt and in India we have very rightly commenced from the bottom of the ladder, and the last thirty years have seen local self-government extensively developed: what with Village Councils, Talonka and District Boards, etc., etc. The man in the mud-hut has, therefore, a good deal to say in local affairs, all that really interests him or that he knows anything about. If necessary, give him still more power in connection with these local institutions, but do not ask him to decide who shall sit in the State Legislature; let this be left to the Elders whom he has selected to govern him in local matters.

As a matter of fact, again, I do not think that either the Egyptian or Indian Nationalists trouble themselves much about the popular vote. From their point of view the success or failure of any scheme of Home Rule will depend on whether the Executive forms part of, and is responsible to, the Legislative Assembly.

We have seen that in Egypt the Executive or Council of Ministers is a body quite apart. I have often wondered whether it would not have been wiser if from the first Lord Dufferin had laid down that the Council of Ministers should be selected from the Legislative Council which he created. It certainly would

The Ministers (all sitting) from left to right : Sir Ishmail Sirri Pasha, Saad Zaglool Pasha, Lord Kitchener, Muhammed Said Pasha (Prime Minister at that time), Sir Hussein Rushdi Pasha (Prime Minister since the war), Ahmed Hishmat Pasha, Sir Joseph Saba Pasha

EARL KITCHENER AND EGYPTIAN MINISTERS, 1912

have been one grievance less for Nationalists to agitate about, and I am sure that in the early days of the occupation elected Ministers could not have opposed their English Advisers more than did Cherif, Nubar, Riaz, etc., who were nominated by the Khedive. At all events, I have recollections of a very rabid Nationalist becoming quite tame when, on Lord Cromer's advice, he was selected as a Minister. I presume, too, that as long as England is the "predominant partner" in the Government of Egypt "advice" on any vital point would be given and have to be followed by the Ministry, whether it be nominated or elected.

The Government in India is somewhat different, and an elected Executive will be rather a bitter pill for the Indian civilian, who has governed so successfully for the past sixty years, whatever gentlemen like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald may say to the contrary. But the old order will soon die out, and after a few years it will come as natural for the Indian civilian to call on a native Minister to try and persuade him to adopt the particular reform he may have in view, as it is now for him to pay his respects to a Member of Council. At least I found it so in Egypt, and I had forty years' experience in the two countries.

When I left India some thirty-five years ago, the Government of a Presidency consisted of the Governor and two Members of Council, one judicial and one revenue. Since then a Legislative Council has been added, of which the Executive are *ex-officio* members. But the brunt of the work must still fall on the Secretariat, with its Chief Secretary in each department.

Even supposing that the people of India are not yet ripe for an elected Executive, I imagine that as the country becomes more civilised and the work increases decentralisation must take place, and a good deal of the work now dealt with by the Governor in Council will be disposed of by a Minister with recognised powers.

In many respects the Egyptian classification of Ministers will form a useful precedent for the Local or Presidency Government to follow in India. Lord Kitchener in 1913 added a Minister of Agriculture, and another of Wakfs (religious endowment), making eight in all, the others being Interior, Justice, Public Works, Education, Foreign Affairs, and Finance. A Ministry of Wakfs will not be called for in India, but might well be replaced by a Ministry of Public Health, to include Local Government Institutions. In Egypt, Public Health and Local Government

Institutions are attached to the Interior, which has already more than it can well manage with Police, Lunatic Asylums, and Prisons in addition.

If an elected Executive in Egypt would be a bold experiment, I suppose an elected Council of Ministers in an Indian Presidency would be still bolder. Nevertheless, it is an experiment I should try, as it seems to me to be less dangerous than continually to sit on the safety-valve by merely holding out hopes that in the distant future something of the kind may be accomplished in both India and Egypt. Let the authorities, therefore, with whom the decision rests, take their courage in both hands and create in each Indian Presidency an elected Assembly, with a Council of Ministers selected from that Assembly. Similarly in Egypt, let the Sultan be told to select his Ministers from the Legislative Assembly created by Lord Kitchener.

In Egypt Lord Kitchener had comparatively an easy task to make the Assembly representative. Arabic was the common language, and provision had only to be made for the Coptic community and Bedouin tribes, etc., outside the elected body. The Government nominees are now limited to the classes which are not likely to be represented. There are also the non-elected Ministers, who are *ex-officio* members, but who under the proposed scheme would be elected.

In India the creation of a thoroughly representative body is a very formidable undertaking, if not an impossible one. In the Bombay Presidency alone Hindus speak three different vernacular languages, all recognised as official, in addition to English. There are also Mohammedans, Parsees, and a variety of sects and castes for whom special provision would have to be made. I do not see how it is possible to include all their interests by any scheme of election by colleges or other fancy franchise. At least, it would mean the Council running into hundreds—not at all desirable. It appears to me, therefore, that the only practical method is to let the District Councillors elect the Legislative Council, not necessarily from their own numbers but as the delegates of the people; the District Councillors being themselves elected by village or group delegates as in Egypt. Possibly provision should also be made for nominating a limited number to look after the interests of the more important minorities, who might otherwise remain unrepresented.

The Ministry, being an elected body and responsible to the

Legislative Council, the Governor of the Presidency should cease to take any active part in the Council, representing the Crown rather than the executive head of the Presidency, as is the case at present.

The existing Executive Council might be considered the Privy Council, and two natives might be added, to be nominated by the Governor-General. Every Act passed by the Legislative Council should be submitted for approval to the Governor in Privy Council, who would have the right to veto and to amend the same; in the event of non-approval, the Act to be returned with a reasoned statement as to why it has not been approved. The existing law in India gives the Governor alone this power, but it seems to me that a Governor in Privy Council, with two British members, would be all the safeguard necessary, as the British element would be in the majority, while the additional presence of two natives, one of whom would presumably be a Mohammedan, would give it more the air of constitutional government. Such a Privy Council would, further, take the place of a Second, Chamber, and act as a brake in the case of panic or class legislation.

In the event of a conflict between the Legislative body and the Privy Council, the question might be left to the Governor-General; or Lord Kitchener's provision in the Egyptian Act to meet cases of conflict between the Executive and Legislative Assembly might be adopted. The American proviso, with its two-thirds majority overriding the President's veto, is yet another method, but probably this would be too risky, unless also subject to final control by the Governor-General.

The Governor in Privy Council should also have the power of convening, adjourning and dissolving the Legislative Council—dissolution, however, as also that of dismissal of Ministers, to be exercised only after the approval of the Governor-General in Privy Council.

As the Governor will cease to take any active part in the debates of this Legislative Council, a "Speaker" will have to be appointed to preside. He should be selected from the Civil Service, not elected by the members. In contradistinction to the existing *ex-officio* presidents of the District and Local Boards, the Speaker of this Legislative Council must not be a managing director or dictator in any sense of the word. He should have no preconceived ideas on political questions, but, nevertheless, must be a

strong man on points of order and precedent, as it will rest entirely with him to rule out objectionable motions. The maintenance of order in such an assembly will be, too, no easy matter. He will also be responsible that the Legislative Council shall not exceed its powers, and shall not attempt to legislate on matters reserved, as now, for the Government of India.

I am of opinion also that in the case of a dissolution of the Legislative Council, or dismissal of Ministers and the non-appointment of others, the Governor in Privy Council should carry on the duties of the Executive for the time being, and that provision should be made for this in any self-government Act which may be introduced. The occasion will, I am sure, never arise, but the fact that the Statute contains such a provision might possibly in some remote contingency obviate the necessity of proclaiming martial law.

A period of three years will suffice for the life of the Council, and under ordinary circumstances the outgoing Ministers will continue in office till their successors are appointed.

There are, of course, many other details which cannot well be dealt with here, but these are, broadly, the lines which, in my opinion, Presidency Home Rule should follow. The Indian Nationalist will be so pleased that he will probably not question the very real safeguard surrounding the elected Executive. On the other hand, I suppose I shall shock my Indian Civil Service friends by such Radical proposals, and yet I can assure them that everything will go on much as it does now. With the permanent Indian civilian below, and the Governor in Privy Council above, the elected Minister will be between our old friends the anvil and the hammer and not have a chance of making mischief even should he desire so to do.

The reform (if you like to call it so) of the Presidency Council is comparatively easy. It is when you reach the Government of India and, higher still, the Secretary of State in England, that the problem of Home Rule becomes much more difficult of solution. The great difficulty, of course, is that, even if you accept an elected Executive in the Presidency, the Government of India's Council must for many years still to come be composed largely of Englishmen.

If the scheme of Government by Ministers is necessary for a Presidency, it is certainly required for the Federal or Central Government of India. With an Executive Council of Ministers,

War, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Railways and Postmaster-General must certainly be reserved for Englishmen, even if Interior, Justice, Education and Public Works be filled by nominated natives or elected members of the Legislative Assembly.

A mixed Ministry of this description would be in no way responsible to the Legislative Assembly, whatever its relations with the Governor-General might be.

The existing system in Egypt (Lord Kitchener's) appears to offer a useful precedent—the Legislative Assembly being elected and the Executive nominated, though the members of the latter are *ex-officio* members also of the former with a right to take part in its debates. The American system is the alternative, where the Executive is entirely separate from the Legislature, coming in and going out with the President, to whom the Executive is responsible. If the American system be followed, the Governor-General would represent the President and the Executive would be responsible to him alone.

At present the existing Legislative Council consists of both nominated and elected members. The elected members are chosen by the elected Presidency Councils. I see no reason why this Legislative Council should not be entirely elected by the Presidency Legislature, following the precedent of the American Senate. In America each State elects the same number of Senators irrespectively of its size and population. There is a special reason for this in America which does not exist in India. It seems only right, therefore, that the more important Presidencies should have a larger number of representatives on the Council of India than the smaller Lieutenant.-Governorships.

The existing Egyptian law might be a guide in the matter of initiating legislation, both the Executive Council and the Legislative Council being given the right to do so. But I would follow the American precedent and keep the Governor-General (President) outside the Legislature, reserving only for the Governor-General in Privy Council the same rights of veto or approval of legislation emanating from the Legislative Assembly of India as the Presidency Governor has for Presidency legislation. It will be seen that I make no provision for nominated members or Britishers in the elected Legislative Assembly. This will probably be considered very risky, but I have trusted to the British Ministers, who will take part in the debates, to shape legislation, and, finally, there is the veto or approval of the

Governor-General in Privy Council to prevent doubtful laws from getting on to the Statute Book.

The Governor-General's Privy Council should consist of six members, three being members of the Civil Service and three natives of India to be nominated by the Secretary of State. Conflicts between the Legislative Assembly and the Privy Council might be dealt with as suggested in Presidency legislation, with the Secretary of State as a final Court of Appeal in place of the Governor-General.

The importance of these Privy Councils cannot, I think, be overestimated. In the first place, they practically take the place of a Second Chamber; secondly, they do away with the necessity of nominated British members in the elected Councils; thirdly, they tone down the existing arbitrary provisions of veto by the Governor-General and Governor in person; finally, provided that the Indian legislators do not abuse their new powers, the veto of the Crown in Privy Council will be as formal as the veto of the Crown in Colonial Government. Thus the Government of India will be brought more into line with the Colonial system.

In the future, when the Indian legislators have become still more emancipated and have worked out their own salvation, an elected Second Chamber may be introduced, and the Privy Council powers in connection with legislation disappear entirely.

To sum up, the scheme provides for:

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. A nominated Executive, consisting of both British and native Ministers, who will be also *ex-officio* members of the Legislative Assembly and take part in its debates.

2. The Legislative Assembly to be elected for six years by the Presidency Legislatures. One-third to retire every two years after the manner of the American Senate, which never dies.

3. Both the Executive and Legislative Assembly to have the power to initiate legislation.

4. The Governor-General no longer to take part in the debates of the Legislative Assembly or to be a member of the Executive.

5. The Governor-General to be assisted by a Privy Council consisting of six members, three British and three native to be nominated by the Secretary of State.

6. The Governor-General in Privy Council to have the power

to veto or to amend all legislation emanating from the Executive or Legislative Assembly.

7. Conflicts with the Legislative Assembly, failing free conference and other methods, to be referred to the Secretary of State, whose decision will be final.

8. Nine Ministers to be created—viz., Finance, Foreign Affairs, Postmaster-General, Railways, War, Interior, Public Works, Education, Justice, the first five to be held by British Ministers. These Ministers to form the Executive Council.

Presidency Government.

1. The Executive to be selected from the Legislative Council and to consist of eight Ministers—viz., Interior, Justice, Public Works, Education, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Agriculture, and Public Health.

2. The Legislative Council to be an entirely elected body to be selected by Provincial (District) and Urban Councils; life of Council, three years.

3. The Governor to cease to be a member of the Executive or to take part in the debates of the Legislative Council.

4. The Governor to be assisted by a Privy Council, two British and two natives, to be nominated by the Governor-General.

5. The Governor in Privy Council to have the power to veto all legislation emanating from the Legislative Council.

6. Conflicts with the Executive Council to be referred to the Governor-General for final decision failing free conference or other methods of reaching an agreement.

7. The Governor in Privy Council to convene, adjourn and dissolve the Legislative Council; also to have the power to dismiss Ministers and appoint others after approval of the Governor-General.

8. In the event of a dissolution and non-appointment of Ministers, the Governor in Privy Council, with the approval of the Governor-General, to appoint temporary Executive Ministers other than from the Legislative Council.

CHAPTER XXX.

Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

The scheme of Home Rule for India sketched in the preceding chapter has been re-written and re-drafted from an article which I contributed to the *Near East* in the autumn of 1917. Since that date the Montagu-Chelmsford Report has been presented to both Houses of Parliament. Mr. Lionel Curtis has given the world the benefit of his advice in his *Letters to the People of India*, whilst, in addition, the Hindu Congress, together with the Moslem League, has formulated its own proposals. It may well be asked, therefore, why no mention has been made of either of these counter-proposals in the scheme which I have thus outlined. My answer is that the chapter was completed before the official report appeared, and further that I had then had no opportunity of studying Mr. Curtis's *Letters*. As these proposals have in no way influenced my original scheme, and as, moreover, they have not led me to modify in any material manner the conclusions at which I had arrived, I thought it best that my own proposal should be left intact, to be judged upon its merits, whilst reserving for another chapter any criticism which I may have to make on the official report.

In the first place, may I congratulate the authors of the report, not so much on their literary effort (fine though that be) as on the mass of data which they have collected for the furtherance of the criticism which they have invited. If fault can be found with the report it is that it is too voluminous, and on this account not likely to be studied by the average Member of Parliament to the extent required by "one of the greatest experiments ever undertaken in the world's history" (para. 198). In fact, judging from the preliminary debate in the House of Commons, there appears to be a real danger that the official proposals will be accepted and passed *en bloc* without more than half a dozen members taking any part in the proceedings and without the

House of Commons as a whole appreciating in the least either the proposals or their effect.

On this account I will endeavour to reduce my criticism to as small a space as possible so that anyone taking an interest in the subject may not be discouraged from reading what I have to say.

Let us commence with the question of franchise. The report, whilst dealing with the political importance of education (para. 187) and admitting that "a very general extension of the franchise is impossible until literacy is far *more widely spread*," goes on to state that the franchise "should be determined rather with reference to practical difficulties than to any *a priori* considerations as to degree of education"; again, "the system of indirect elections should be swept away . . . as it effectively prevents the representative from feeling that he stands in any genuine relation to the original voter." In fact, the general principles laid down for the guidance of the Franchise Committees and "Chairman from England" may be briefly described as: make the franchise "as broad as possible" (para. 226).

I wonder how often the phrase "as possible" has been made use of in this world to cover instructions very difficult or inexpedient more clearly to express. However, I will endeavour to supplement these instructions and give the Committees something more definite to guide them. In the first place, I should point out that when—as in India—one is dealing with immense areas and with masses of illiterate peasants it is impossible to expect any very direct relations between the original voter and the representative, and that this is more especially the case in that, as the number of the Legislative Council is not to exceed 100 or 120, the electorates must in consequence be very large.

I should next draw attention to the fact that according to the Report (paras. 133 and 134) the dwellers in towns are better educated (30 per cent. compared with 5 per cent.), and generally better qualified to exercise a suffrage than the inhabitants of rural districts. The franchise granted to residents, say in municipal areas, might therefore in the first instance be broader than the franchise granted to the inhabitants of rural areas, as will be shown hereafter. I should then point out to the Committees that in Egypt, where the conditions are very similar, the late Lord Kitchener, and before him the late Lord Dufferin, found it necessary to create "delegate voters," one delegate representing 50 voters at the poll. Further, if the necessity of creating

delegate voters arose, it would appear to be of minor importance whether this medium represented 50 or 1,000 voters, as would be the case if the Punchayet or Village Elders were delegated to represent their particular village. This plan, too, would perhaps be more in keeping with Indian conditions, where the Punchayet system exists in most villages and is being extended for the purposes of local government, than the plan of the creation of a "delegate voter" as has been done in Egypt. In short, I should advise the Committees to keep their minds open on this point, and not to start with preconceived ideas about indirect elections "being swept away," or of the popular vote, in accordance with Western Democracy, being the best and only method of teaching the Eastern peasant all the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount.

Above all I should impress on the Committees that, whatever system of franchise be recommended, the first consideration should be the government of the country. India has not suddenly become a gigantic kindergarten—as the report leads one to suppose—neither are illiterate peasants likely to learn that the vote is "a better weapon than the *Lathi* or the hatchet with which to redress wrongs" (para. 146).

Having thus cleared the ground, as it were, I should proceed to elaborate for the consideration of the Committee the details of the scheme that I have sketched out in Chapter XXIX., as follows :—

I take it that every village in India of 10,000 inhabitants or more is now provided with a Municipality. In villages where they have no Municipalities I should create a Punchayet of five elders to be elected by the villagers; for the system of electing these Punchayets it might well be left to the villagers themselves. I should stipulate only that, if a ballot were necessary, those alone who contribute to the revenues of the State in some form or another should be allowed to vote.

The next step would be the election of a Talooka or Sub-District Board. For this purpose I should group the villages into areas of 10,000 inhabitants and should suggest the election of ten Elder-Delegates per area. As the villages would vary in size, each Punchayet would be called on to elect one or more delegates, that is to say one delegate for every 1,000 inhabitants, fractions of over 500 being considered as 1,000 and fractions of less than 500 being ignored. The ten Elder-Delegates would then elect one of their number as a representative to sit on the Talooka Board.

As each Talooka would probably contain from 100,000 to 120,000 inhabitants, the elected members of the Talooka Board would not exceed a dozen. The Talooka Board will then proceed to elect a District Board.

To form a District Board I should commence by calling on each of the Talooka Boards to elect two representatives. As the District Boards will also be called on to deal with questions affecting the inhabitants of municipal areas, I should recommend that each Municipality, within the district area, should also elect one representative to sit on the District Board. On the average this will, I think, give us an elected District Board of twenty-one members, viz.: fourteen elected by the Talooka Boards and seven elected representatives of the Municipalities. To this will have to be added representatives of the Mohammedans and other minorities to be nominated by the Government after election by their own communities. Possibly some members of these communities may be elected in the ordinary way, and I think it should be clearly understood that nominations are only intended to make good a deficiency in the quota allowed for the particular community, whatever that may be.

This will not prevent the said community from taking part in the election of village Elders or of the Talooka Boards. In large districts, where Talookas are numerous and there are many Municipalities, it may be found necessary to have only one representative from each Talooka, lest the numbers elected to sit on the District Board become unwieldy. I do not think that the District Boards should have more than thirty elected members exclusive of the experts who may have seats without a vote.

We have now finished with what may be termed local government institutions, and we come to the Legislative Councils.

But before proceeding with the constitution of the Legislative Councils, let us discuss the franchise for the towns and cities, as it is there that I should propose to experiment with manhood suffrage, direct votes, and the rest of the paraphernalia so dear to Western Democracy.

As stated in the preceding chapter, Lord Kitchener has given us a precedent in Egypt, where we have manhood suffrage, the only qualification being age (twenty years) and residence. But I doubt the advisability of broadening the franchise to this extent in the East, where residence often means four mud walls and a bundle of cotton sticks for a roof. I think that we shall be wiser

to stick to the principle—and, in my opinion, a very sound principle—that to qualify for a vote a contribution to the State in some form or another is essential. In municipal areas, therefore, let those who thus contribute elect a member to represent their particular town on the District Board. They will, of course, be asked to elect their own Municipal Councillors as well.

In cities of 100,000 inhabitants and more, electors similarly qualified may be asked to send a representative to sit on the Legislative Council. Personally speaking, I consider that the Municipal Councillors are far more capable of making the selection than the "man in the mud-hut," and I only make this proposal or suggestion as a concession to those whose views are more "advanced" than my own.

The proposal has this advantage, that what we may term urban franchise can be gradually extended to other areas by the Provincial Governments on its being proved to the satisfaction of the particular Government that the area in question is ripe for such a form of suffrage. If a provision to this effect be included in the Reform Act under consideration, it might obviate the necessity of further legislation in the near future.

There is another question equally important which, so far as I am aware, has not been dealt with by either Mr. Curtis or the authors of the report. I refer to the qualifications of the candidate for election. In this connection I think that we may safely follow Lord Kitchener's lead. The Egyptian Reform Act, though very liberal—perhaps, indeed, too liberal—in the matter of qualifications of the voter, takes especial care that the gentleman who is elected as a representative, either in the Legislative Assembly or on the District Board ("Provincial Board," as it is called in Egypt), has a very considerable interest or stake in the country in the shape of land or house property, for the qualifying tax contribution means an income of £400 to £500 per annum. This is no small amount in the East, and is one which not every political agitator is likely to be enjoying, although, of course, it has to be stated that in the case of a candidate possessing an educational diploma the amount is reduced by two-fifths. The age (thirty-five) also debars many scatter-brained students fresh from the Universities from seeking election. On the whole, I think that this Egyptian precedent may well be followed in India.

I may add that, in Egypt, whereas the candidate for the District Board must reside in the sub-district which he represents,

the candidate for the Legislative Council need not necessarily do so. If this precedent be followed in India it would leave it open to the District Board to elect (as I am about to explain) their representatives for the Legislative Council other than from the members of the District Boards.

We will now proceed with the composition of the Presidency Legislative Councils. As an illustration of my proposal I will take the Presidency of Bombay, as I know more about Bombay than I know about the rest of India. In my time, many years ago I fear, there were twenty districts, each with a population varying from 500,000 to 1,000,000, and—other than Bombay itself—four cities (Ahmedabad, Surat, Karachi, Poona) with populations of 100,000 and over.

Supposing that we give to each district four representatives on the Council. Some districts, of course, like Khandesh, should really have six, others like Colaba, Rutnagherry and Broach should not have more than three; but we will take four as the average. Bombay with the University will require five, add the Mohammedan representatives, say twenty-nine, and one from each of the four cities. This gives us a total of 118. I suggest that the total number be fixed at 125; this will leave seven vacant seats to be reserved for important minorities.

The eighty District Members will, according to my proposal, be elected by their respective District Boards. The four cities and Bombay will elect their own members by the direct vote of qualified electors; and the Mohammedans will have their own electorate, in addition to voting for other members, but their agreed quota will not be exceeded unless by election without nomination in Provinces where the Mohammedans are in the majority.

The members for the Legislative Assembly of the Government of India should be elected in the same manner, viz., by the Presidency Legislative Councils. To ensure, however, that each community is fairly represented, at least as far as can be in an assembly which is not to exceed 125 members, I suggest that panels be created in each Legislative Council, each panel electing its own representative. In the Bombay Legislative Council we should thus have a Maratha Panel, a Guzerath Panel, a Sind Panel, and a Panel of Members from the Cannarese-speaking districts, each electing one or more representatives to sit on the Legislative Assembly of the Government of India. The City of Bombay might also well ask for a representative.

In the Legislative Assembly of the Government of India, as in the Provincial Legislative Councils, of course, there will be the nominated members representing the Mohammedans and other important sections of the community as may be agreed upon. The nominated Executive will also form part of the Assembly as *ex-officio* members and take part in its debates.

This completes my scheme of franchise for all the elected bodies forming the constitution, from the Punchayet to the Legislative Assembly of the Government of India. I will now briefly discuss the official proposal in connection with the Executive Government of a Province or Presidency.

The official proposal suggests (para. 218) that the Executive shall consist of two parts: (a) a Governor in a Council of two—one British and one Indian; (b) Indian Ministers selected from elected members of the Legislative Council, who will be in charge of what are termed "transferred subjects," as compared with "reserved subjects," which will be dealt with by the Governor in Council. We thus find that there are to be not only two Executives but also two forms of Government, viz., a Minister or Ministers with delegated powers and a Governor in Council. Further, we find (para. 256) that when the annual allotments are under consideration the Ministers in charge of "transferred subjects" are to be allowed, for their share, the *residue* of any credit available after the requirements of the Government of India and "reserved subjects" have been met. When discussing another form of Di-archy, the authors of the report reject it (para. 216) as "complete dualism, and likely to lead to hopeless friction, one Government being regarded as Official and one as Indian." Personally, I cannot see how the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme can escape similar criticism. And, indeed, the authors of the report do not themselves for a moment suggest that their scheme is perfect; but they recommend it for acceptance because, after examination of many alternative plans, they found that they "led either to deadlock or to more frequent or greater potentialities of friction" (para. 241).

Let us discuss the most important of these alternative schemes, that of the Joint Address, or (shall we call it) Mr. Lionel Curtis's proposal.

The demarcation of powers in Mr. Curtis's Di-archy may be described as horizontal rather than vertical, that is to say, he does not attempt to draw a distinction in the same Executive

between elected and nominated Ministers, but he suggests the creation of Subordinate States with entirely elected Executives, and with at first limited powers more or less of the description of the powers which are at present exercised by the District Boards.

The scheme is that, as these States demonstrate their efficiency to govern, more and more power shall be made over to them till eventually the Provincial Unit entirely disappears, and what was formerly a Subordinate State under the Provincial Government becomes a Federal State under the Government of India.

The principle of the scheme is, I think, entirely sound, but the reasons for rejecting it (para. 246) are undoubtedly weighty. It clearly would be "very unwise to attempt to unite the sufficiently difficult task of revising the Constitution of India with the highly controversial labour of simultaneously revising the political geography of the entire country" (para. 246).

Now, I venture to think that the horizontal system of control which Mr. Curtis's scheme contemplates is to be found in my own proposal, without any of the dangers attached to rearranging the political geography of the entire country. At the same time, the modifications suggested by Mr. P. C. Mitter (Curtis's *Letters*, Appendix I.) might possibly be adopted.

Whilst Mr. Curtis creates States with an elected Executive subordinate to the existing Bureaucratic Government of the Presidency, I make the existing Provincial Council Unit the elected democratic body, but create a Super-Provincial Authority for the purpose of control. The principle is in reality the same—a temporary bureaucratic control wedged between the popular bodies and the Government of India. Under Mr. Curtis's scheme the Bureaucracy eventually disappears with the Provincial Unit; under my proposal the Bureaucratic Control will in time become a Second Chamber, the Provincial Unit being retained.

Again, Mr. Curtis's scheme resembles my own in that it relies on suspension as the best means of maintaining order. "The Government upon which rests the final duty of maintaining order must have a power of suspending the delinquent authority" (*Letters to the People of India*, page 155). It appears to me that this is a far more effective weapon than forcing through certified (para. 252) legislation by the means of Grand Committees. It may be argued that the controlling authority cannot always be having recourse to such drastic action. I agree; but the mere fact that such a provision exists will, in nine cases out of ten,

suffice to provide the controlling authority with the legislation required without having to resort to extreme measures. Of course, there will be discussion and a certain amount of give and take on both sides, probably to the advantage of the measures concerned.

One great advantage of my scheme—which is wanting in Mr. Curtis's Subordinate State proposal—is that under my scheme, in the event of suspension of the elected Executive, you merely revert to the existing Governor in Council, the British Under-Secretaries for the time being taking the place of the suspended Indian Ministers. I think that this fact is hardly sufficiently recognised by the authorities who talk of bold experiments and great risks. In practice, too, I am sure that one of the dangers put forward in the official report (para. 176) is really a "bug-bear"; for an elected Minister of the Interior will be quite as anxious as his subordinate Inspector-General of Police to obtain credits to maintain police efficiency—at least, I found it so in Egypt, and I served with several extreme Nationalists. But if one commences with "reserved" and "transferred" subjects to be treated exceptionally in the matter of credits, one is literally asking for trouble, and one will most assuredly get it.

I am also quite convinced that the Governor of the future should be kept entirely outside all debates in the Legislative Councils. As an impartial authority, representing the Crown, his advice will be asked and listened to much more than if he attempts to exercise his veto—the latter possibly after having been defeated in argument. But an absolutely impartial Speaker is an essential.

I have already exceeded the limits I have allowed myself for criticism, and nothing I can say is, I fear, likely to influence the decisions as regards the Government of India. The composition of the nominated Executive has been left purposely vague (para. 271), and may be said to be more or less in agreement with my own suggestion. The Council of State with its bare British majority is not unlike my own Privy Council, but I am doubtful whether the fifty members will serve a more useful purpose than my modest half-dozen. The general principle works out the same in both schemes, and we are in agreement that the time has not yet arrived when democratic control can be introduced in the Government of India as a whole, and that we cannot afford to make experiments, either bold or otherwise, with the Executive of the Government of India, which must continue, as heretofore, to be nominated by the Secretary of State.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Despotism versus Democracy.

I have devoted the whole of the last two chapters to suggestions as to the manner in which a further instalment of Home Rule can, in my opinion, be safely granted to both India and Egypt. I fear, therefore, that I shall be accused of being inconsistent if I now turn round and endeavour to prove that undiluted Democracy is the worst form of government which any country, be it Eastern or Western, can adopt. Yet, nevertheless, this is what I propose doing.

Many years ago I was dining with Sir Eldon Gorst in Alexandria, and, our bridge having fallen through, we spent the evening discussing what was the best form of government. I remember that Sir Eldon was all for Home Rule, and at that time I was all for government by some disinterested outside authority, such as Lord Cromer or the Government of India—in other words, a benevolent despotism. I admitted, however, that some means must be found of removing the despot when his rule became impossible, which, sooner or later, was likely to happen.

If I were asked the question now, I should have no hesitation in saying, "Government by the Kaiser, with Siberia or the German equivalent in the background for the time when the Kaiser should become unbearable." If I were pressed for my reasons, I should reply, "I judge by results, and I am confident that universal military training is the first cause." Having committed myself to this extent, my imaginary interlocutor would probably, if he were a good democrat, not trouble to argue further with anyone holding such absurd views. Possibly he might finish me off with, "My dear fellow, it is to smash this military despotism and dethrone the despot that all this blood is being shed. How can you argue that military training has anything to do with good government?" I should agree both as to the cause of the war and the necessity thereof, but I should continue to maintain that, if we succeed in smashing the despotism and in removing the despot, Germany will not flourish in the future as she has flourished in the past.

It appears to me there is no other alternative—either you must admit that personal government, supported by military training, produces marvellous results, and is, therefore, superior to our own Democracy, or you must confess that, man for man, the Germans are better than we are. I am too proud of being a Britisher to make the latter confession.

The stock arguments that we were not ready for war, that the Germans had been preparing for years, etc., etc., might all be paraded. I admit all, but, apart from the military side, what do we find ? During the past thirty years Germany's trade going up by leaps and bounds, a mercantile marine rapidly overhauling our own, an educational system so good that the authorities tell us it leaves a smaller percentage of uneducated than is found in any other country, an insurance-for-old-age scheme which we have slavishly copied. Are not all these signs of exceptional government ?

I may here say that I have no German connections and had few friends (none now), but I take off my hat to the German Government and all that it has accomplished, though I loathe the " blond beasts " who compose it. The trouble is that the German Government has been too successful. Universal military training has taught the nation, as a whole, the value of duty and discipline, and this has undoubtedly contributed to enable the Kaiser and his Junkers to accomplish all that they have. Now, intoxicated with their own success, they have become arrogant dictators and impossible neighbours.

I believe that this is a form of lunacy not uncommon amongst individuals, but spreading through and hypnotising the whole of the German nation as it has is a phenomenon yet to be explained by mental scientists. Let us hope that the brutality which appears to have been developed at the same time does not affect the whole nation, but is a reversion to type of individuals only. Anyhow, it would seem clear that all Germans, notwithstanding their Kultur, are several degrees less removed from the savage than either ourselves or our Allies.

The German form of government is hardly a democrat's ideal of government by the people, even if it is government for the good of the people. But democrats' ideals and Democracy in being are often far removed from each other. Take our own House of Commons, " the Mother of Parliaments," with its two Parties, " the ins " and " the outs." The whole object of " the outs "

is to make government by " the ins " impossible, every conceivable device being resorted to for the purpose. The so-called voice of the people is largely the result of Party organisation, which itself in turn depends on Party funds. According to the Press, the less said about the latter the better. On the other hand, our Party chiefs tell us that it is the only way our system of government can be worked, and I certainly cannot claim to know as much about the subject as the professional politician. But to the ordinary man it looks really very like government by the Party for the good of the Party. This Party system has certainly taught the value of collective bargaining, and trade unions and labour generally have reaped many benefits therefrom. I might add that during the present war labour has taken full advantage of the knowledge that the government of a country fighting for its existence can be more easily exploited than in peace time. In fact, as regards one section of labour, it was hard to draw a distinction between what might reasonably be considered legitimate demands on the one hand and disloyalty on the other. If the Germans are intoxicated with the success of their form of administration, many of our own people are certainly allowed by our Government to partake too freely of the cup of Liberty.

The German advance this spring happily brought saner counsels to bear, but Democracy is, and always will be, a government of unrest, and gives, and always will give, our leaders a much harder task than the one which confronts the Kaiser and his satellites. The result, too, is less satisfactory for the governed, though causing less anxiety to neighbours. Say what one will, though, Democracy in some form or another has come to stay, and the question to be considered is not what is the best form of government, but what is the best means of guiding and controlling the will of the people ?

If we were able to start with a clean sheet and with no vested interests, I cannot imagine a better form of democratic government than the hierarchy of our Church, with its Houses of Laymen. If we followed this precedent we should have the man in the street voting for his Parish or District Council, which in turn would elect the County Council, and so on to the House of Commons. Thus each step on the ladder of government would be made by a more experienced if not more intelligent body of electors. Party government would soon die out, and collective bargaining would be lessened. The cranks and faddists would

certainly not reach the House of Commons to waste the time thereof.

This, of course, is quite opposed to the new craze of a Referendum on all subjects, no matter how abstruse. I am, perhaps, old-fashioned, but I can never understand how a Referendum can be expected to find the right solution of any problem. In one's own household, one does not consult the understrappers and kitchenmaids in matters of domestic economy, though the butler and cook are often listened to with advantage. In this radical age is experience never to count ?

But it is useless to proceed with a counsel of perfection which will never materialise. Nothing but a revolution will change the constitution of the House of Commons. Having once obtained the right to elect a representative to the House of Commons, our man in the street is not going to be satisfied with only voting for a seat in his local Council.

But if we cannot interfere with the representation in the House of Commons, the House of Lords can be reconstituted on an entirely different basis. I may add, not because the House of Lords has failed the nation in the past, but on account of the Parliament Act of 1911, which has deprived it of the powers which an Upper House should exercise.

Some years ago to have proposed reforms in our House of Lords would have been almost a treasonable offence. The Parliament Act of 1911 has changed all this, and now Lord Bryce's Conference has made still more drastic and far-reaching proposals. In this connection perhaps I may be allowed to quote a letter which I sent to the *Spectator* in August, 1917. As my name carried no weight, I signed myself "An Outsider," and I suggested the following solution of the Irish problem, my suggestion taking the form of a letter which I had addressed to a member of the Irish Convention with whom I was acquainted, and which was as follows :—

"I commence by premising that no good Irishman like yourself desires to force Ulster out of the Union. At the same time an Ireland without the six Protestant counties is unthinkable. Suppose, however, you give Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England each a House of Commons, and make the House of Lords the connecting link of the United Kingdom, you practically give the Nationalists all they ask, and Ulster's rights are at the same time safeguarded. You will note that this is not the

Colonial system of Home Rule at one time, I gather, contemplated by Mr. Lloyd George. I have lately read a speech by Sir George Reid, in which such a form of Home Rule was adversely criticised as asking a man to part with his wife because he had given a dot and his blessing to his daughters. To my mind this (Colonial Home Rule) is as unthinkable to Englishmen as splitting Ireland should be to Irishmen. If we want to bring in the Colonies, or rather, if the Colonies ask for a closer connection with the Mother Country, surely the Privy Council is indicated? War and Peace and the larger questions of Empire now dealt with by the periodical Conferences might be reserved for the Privy Council. Again, under the scheme I suggest the House of Lords would have to be considerably reformed and given real power, not be merely a debating society, as the Act of 1911 has practically left it.

"I doubt the present radical age ever countenancing an hereditary Chamber with real power, but the Peers might still have a good influence (as they always have had) in the government of the United Kingdom, if in the Upper House they were represented by a body elected by themselves. In fact, proportional representation should figure largely in the newly constituted House of Lords, and the advocates of this form of suffrage might here find scope for their abilities rather than in the House of Commons. I often wonder if the Irish Convention and the Conference considering the changes in the House of Lords realise how the two questions overlap."

Since I wrote this letter the Irish Convention has come and gone without finding a solution. Lord Bryce's Conference has proposed a reconstituted House of Lords somewhat similar to the one I contemplated, and the Government (as I write) is preparing a Home Rule Bill on Federal lines which stands every chance of being accepted, if the Sinn Feiners do not mean open rebellion.

The letters I wrote to my Irish acquaintance and the *Spectator* are, I think, of interest, not only as suggesting a form of government for Ireland which appears now to be the only possible solution, but also because, in a second explanatory letter to the *Spectator*, I pointed out that before granting Home Rule it was quite on the cards that an Irish rebellion would first have to be suppressed. I may claim, therefore, to have made a correct forecast of what was likely to happen, even though the Sinn

Feiners may succeed in postponing Home Rule for some time longer.

I am told that the great charm of our English climate is its changeability. I suppose that this is also one of the chief recommendations of Democratic Government! You are never quite sure what the morrow may bring forth. Sections of labour openly preach and practise rebellion, and then, when everything appears at its blackest, the whole atmosphere changes, and the Press is full of the loyalty of the working classes. Similarly with Ireland. Who can say what the Sinn Feiners, to say nothing of Nationalists, are really out for? Possibly, by the time this book is printed, or even this particular chapter written, the Irish barometer may be once more "set fair."

But if the Irish do not accept the form of Home Rule we are prepared to give them, let them have English administrators and an Army of Occupation after the manner of India and Egypt. I will undertake to say that they will be much better governed than by themselves. But anyhow, let the Government get on with its Federal scheme for England, Wales and Scotland. Ireland can come in later when sane once more. I am sure that it is the right method for our system of Democracy.

The part to be played by an Upper House in any scheme of devolution can best be appreciated by a perusal of the daily cables from America. How often do we hear of the Senate and how often of the House of Representatives? It makes one almost inquire—What useful purpose does the House of Representatives fill in America, when each State has also an Upper and a Lower House? If the President is not an absolute Dictator, to the same extent as is the German Emperor, it is on account of the control exercised by the Senate—not, surely, by any control exercised by the House of Representatives.

So I hope it will be with our reconstituted House of Lords—or shall I call it our Senate? But we must first have a thoroughly representative House. Whether it is elected by panels of the House of Commons, after the manner of the Conference proposal, or by County and Urban Councils plus contingents from Trades Union representatives, or other Labour organisations, to say nothing of the Lords themselves, it must be *the Elect* of the *Elected.*

When this has been accomplished, the Upper House should be composed of members who will compare favourably, in every

respect, with the members of the House of Commons. Cream is certainly richer than milk! It is from this Upper House that the Prime Minister and Executive of the United Kingdom should be selected. In this respect we should not follow the American precedent.

An Upper House of this description might have appellate powers to deal with Bills coming up from the Houses of Commons and original powers as regards legislation for the United Kingdom as a whole. The legislation to be reserved for the Upper House need not here be discussed. Australia has already created precedents to guide us.

Again, as regards money Bills, now declared "out of bounds" for the Lords, when once the Upper House is an elected body there will be no longer any reason why legislation of this description should be reserved for the Commons. The necessary funds required for the Government of the United Kingdom might be voted by each House of Commons on an agreed scale, or certain revenues might be ear-marked for disposal by the Upper Chamber —the latter would appear the simpler course to follow and the one less likely to cause friction—such revenues being calculated to leave a large balance for grants in aid of the poorer members of the family, to be distributed by the Upper House, viz., Government of the United Kingdom.

I am all for introducing the personal element in the Government as adopted by the United States in electing a President for a period of years. But if this be accepted, and our Prime Minister and Executive of the United Kingdom are to form part of our Upper House and to be selected therefrom, then it appears to me that the whole House should be elected for a period of years and serve the full period without dissolving. In America the question of dissolution does not arise, as the Senate never dies, being recruited by rotation, and the Executive has no connection with the Legislature. America, of course, does not carry the Party system to the extremity which we do in England. It occasionally happens, however, that a Republican President finds himself up against a democratic Senate, or *vice versa*, and nothing very serious happens. They just compromise and "carry on." The same thing might happen in England in the future, supposing the Federal scheme ever materialised on the lines I suggest. Why should we not just "carry on" as they do in America? At all events, it cannot cause more difficulties than

an Upper House with a permanent Conservative majority to spoke every Liberal measure—so the Radicals maintain—as long as it dares!

If, too, I may venture to prophesy, Party votes will count for much less in the future than they have counted in the past. The tendency will be to follow the Man rather than the Party. I see no reason, therefore, why our future Upper House should not complete any span of life which may be allotted to it, even if the Lower Houses of Commons (England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland) are still subject to dissolution if a hostile vote turns out the party which may happen to be in power.

With the close of this chapter on Democracy my "Reflections" come to an end. Some of my readers may describe the form of government which I have suggested as crude and impracticable. Others may possibly think that although by profession I was a Police Officer and by accident became a Prison Administrator, my real vocation in life should have been what Mr. Long in a recent speech has satirically termed "a Constitution Monger."

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the completion of the last chapter of the present book, the collapse of the Central Powers, together with the surrender of the German fleet, offers me the opportunity of reconsidering the conclusions I have already set forth, even to the extent of recasting the whole of my last chapter, should I desire.

In the light of recent events, there are probably many who will triumphantly claim, not only that *right* has conquered *might*, but also that Democracy as a form of government has demonstrated its superiority over Autocracy in war as well as in peace. But I ask myself the question: Supposing that the positions had been reversed, and Germany had been a democratic Power facing an autocratic combination of France, Russia, Italy, England and, latterly, America, would she have withstood the strain for upwards of four years and been within an ace of victory, as Germany most undoubtedly was in the spring of this present year? No; and I fear that I must still take off my hat to the German organisation for all that it accomplished for the German nation before and (possibly even) in anticipation of the war, though I am prouder than ever of my British nationality.

In this latter connection, however—my pride in my British nationality—I ask myself another question: If Germany had succeeded in bringing us to our knees, how many of our ships would have been handed over intact to the enemy, and how many would have gone down fighting to the last? And again, in the autumn of 1914, did our "contemptible little army" refuse to embark for France because our battalions barely exceeded in number the German divisions opposed to them?

If, therefore, I take off my hat to the German administration, I bare my head in reverent (and, in my own case, loving) memory of our gallant sailors and soldiers who died that we might live. I also, with my head uncovered, acclaim the master mind who overcame the "gregarious inertia" of our "wait and see" controllers. I refer to Mr. Lloyd George, whose name will assuredly go down to posterity as the saviour of Europe. I do so

all the more readily as Mr. Lloyd George is a living example confirming my contention that it is the personal element rather than Democracy that we must look to for the solution of the many problems which beset a civilised State in the twentieth century. But, though I have no use for a Referendum as a final court of appeal, I recognise that a modified form of Democracy is as necessary for the well-being of a State as an experienced Oligarchy. Democracy is the basic structure on which all Legislatures should be erected, from Rural Boards to the Privy Council.

Let us see what a well-known Socialist writer (the Italian Labriola) has to say on the subject: "True Democracy, on the contrary, is in concentrating the power in an *élite* who can best judge of the power of social cause and effect." What is this but an Oligarchy? Again, that profound thinker and able writer, Mr. W. H. Mallock, in his *Limits of Democracy* (a book which I have only lately had an opportunity of reading), states: "The pure will of the many, unless it is unified by the formative influence of the few, is neither a foolish will nor a wise one. It can only come into action and acquire a definite content when the few have provided it with a subject matter on which to act." In other words, democratic will is so much raw material, which can be fashioned into a Union Jack or the red flag of the International according as it may be influenced by the Unionist Caucus or the Oligarchy presided over by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

Unfortunately for civilisation, the natural instincts of the savage (and we are all of us only a few degrees removed from the savage) are predatory, and Oligarchies which do not make spoliation the principal plank in their political platform are heavily handicapped when dealing with the masses, who have little or nothing to lose. Russia is giving the world an object lesson on a gigantic scale, and possibly the lesson learned will eventually prove beneficial to the world in general and Russia in particular. But such lessons are very expensive, and few States can afford to experiment in that line.

One of the many lessons this war has taught us is the value of propaganda. It has always appeared to me that the height of madness is reached when the British Government allows propaganda of the most pernicious description to be spread broadcast throughout the country. If one may judge from a series of

articles contributed to the *Morning Post* by a Labour correspondent, even during the war the provisions of D.O.R.A. have been applied in only a very half-hearted sort of way, and members of the I.L.P. have been allowed to say and do much as they pleased. And, now that fighting has ended, the first thing that we hear is that the Government do not propose to make any further use of the Act.

We have lately read a great deal in the Press of the advantages which may be expected from the creation of a Ministry of Public Health. I agree. But what about a Ministry of Propaganda and the Press? The one is as necessary as the other. Diseased minds require isolation as well as diseased bodies. Even now, without the assistance of a Health Minister, small-pox patients are not usually met with in a third-class carriage. Surely it is equally important to prevent men with diseased—or shall we say warped—minds from making treasonable speeches and writing inflammatory articles spreading sedition amongst the ignorant masses? Fallacious deductions and false figures appear week after week in Socialist newspapers and remain unchallenged, because the Freedom of the Press is supposed to have been bequeathed to us with the introduction of printing, if not from the time of the Magna Charta.

Mr. Lloyd George tells us that the "star-shells of the Great War" have illuminated many defects in our system of government. For the good of the State let us hope that lying propaganda is an industry which, in the future, will be "controlled."

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